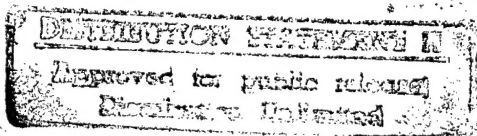


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## ACTIVELY DEVELOP THE ECONOMY OF THE COMMUNE

[The following is a full translation of an article written by Sun Ming appearing in Shang-yu, No 22, pages 19-20 and 25, a semi-monthly periodical published by the Shang-yu Tsa-chih She, Canton, 25 November 1959. Sun Ming is the Vice Director of the Rural Work Department of the Local Party Committee in Swatow.]

In the wake of the continuous leap forward of rural production and the sustained growth of the collective economy of people's communes, the active development of commune-owned economy appears to have become more important than ever.

At present the system of ownership in large production teams employed by communes is basically the three-grade ownership system. It is suitable to the current level of rural production and mass awareness. For the time being it will be necessary to continue this three-grade ownership system.

However, we cannot look only at the present. We must envisage future development and prepare for what is coming next. Following the development of production, the present partial ownership system will be gradually changed into the system of basic ownership by communes, thus laying the foundation for transition from socialistic collective ownership to socialist people's ownership. This is the inevitable tendency in the development of communal economy.

Although the proportion [of the total economy] occupied by commune-owned economy is still relatively small, it will nevertheless grow steadily. In commune-owned economy lies great hope for communal economic development. It is the nuclear force which impels the entire production of communes to continue to forge ahead; it forms the principal material basis on which the present three-grade ownership system will be transformed into the system of basic ownership by communes.

Since the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Eighth Party Congress issued its appeal calling for the movement to oppose rightist tendencies, to bolster



the spirit of endeavor, and to augment production and practice austerity, rural production has made big strides in its forward leap, thus furnishing a huge motivation power in the development of communal economy. Consequently, it is incumbent upon us to fully utilize these wonderful conditions; in continuing to develop the three-grade ownership of communal economy, and especially in developing the economy of large production teams, we must actively develop commune-owned economy; this constitutes an important task in dealing with communal economy at this stage.

To launch and develop public enterprises directly under the commune affords the principal approach to developing commune-owned economy. During the year since the birth of communes, communal-operated enterprises have made considerable headway. In the Swatow special district, for example, the value of output of communal-operated enterprises has occupied, generally, over 15 percent of the entire collective economy of communes.

Some of these communal-operated enterprises serve production (such as agricultural tools works, fertilizer works, lime works, animal husbandry stock stations, fishery stations [free] nursery stations hydraulic pump stations, small power stations, etc.); others serve the people's livelihood (such as edible-oil processing factories sauce factories, factories to preserve vegetables and fish, bamboo and wood furniture works, tea factories, and specialized handicraft works, etc.); and still others supply raw materials for industrial production and for reconstruction of the state (such as mines, building materials factories, logging of timber, etc.) or supply goods to the state (such as large-scale "tsung-ho" [literally combined], and breeding and planting stations, etc.).

Although these enterprises limited by circumstances, leave much to be desired quantitatively and qualitatively, the phenomenal growth of commune-owned economy has had an important effect on the development of diversified communal production, on the support for national industrialization, and on the improvement and enrichment of the people's livelihood; moreover, it has demonstrated the vitality and the wide future of the communes.

Party committee members in the communes must continue to strengthen their leadership in communal-operated enterprises, actively replenish their technical equipment and revamp their management and administration, in order to accelerate productive capacity. In the meantime, it is also necessary to energetically launch new communal-operated enterprises, in order to cope with the needs of current development.

The policy to be observed in developing commune-owned economy at this stage entails a simultaneous attack on industry and agriculture, and the development of production in accord with state planning and in keeping with local conditions and needs, so as to make available huge quantities of commodities to the state, and to serve the needs of communal production and livelihood.

Under the guidance of this policy, diverse forms of economy must be developed actively in order to bring about the full growth of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary industries, and fisheries. Under the conditions of the Swatow special district, in which there are hills, an economy suited to hilly regions should be developed; in marine coastal areas there should be an output of marine fishery products. Full utilization of barren hills and waste lands, bays, creeks, ponds, and reservoirs should be made in order to massively develop general farms, fruit plantations, husbandry stations, seedling stations, fish culture and breeding stations, as well as other productive enterprises.

On the assumption that labor potentialities are fully explored and labor efficiency is raised, the labor force for such productive enterprises can be provided by resort to the creation of specialized teams coordinated with shock method. That is, on the one hand, a small labor force may be recruited by the commune from the large production teams to form a specialized team, in charge of the regular productive tasks; on the other hand, making use of the slack seasons in production, the various large production teams may undertake to furnish temporary labor forces, either to assist in shock tasks and reclamation, or in other work of basic reconstruction. In this way, the work of production by the various large production team is left unaffected, while the commune-owned productive enterprises are enabled to forge ahead successfully.

In regard to commune-operated industry, we should continue to develop raw material and handicraft industries which serve agricultural production and the livelihood of the people, and at the same time, furnish raw materials for national industrial reconstruction.

Geared to the concrete conditions of the commune involved, the [manufacturing] industry and handicraft industry to be actively undertaken are those which entail small investment but yield large results, which are both needed and feasible. However, we are not supposed to alienate ourselves from national planning in order to seek profit. Nor should we develop blindly [in areas where] we have to compete with the state for raw materials, and where the nation's industrial production has already satisfied the demand.

In launching communal-operated enterprises (including both industry and agriculture), it is imperative to coordinate the long with the short, to complement with the short. In other words, while we must undertake a long-term program of basic reconstruction in order to provide a glorious future for communal economy, we must also organize temporary production yielding cash income, so that for a short period of time [for the immediate future], a steady income can be assured. It is thus that we can insure the smooth progress of communal-operated enterprises.

Simultaneously with the active development of commune-owned economy, it behooves us also to energetically accelerate the economic development of the large production teams. Although the proportion of the economy owned by large production teams, in communes is considerable, there is still a large potentiality that can be realized and which can prove to be most useful in bolstering production and in strengthening communal economy.

Thus, when we are developing commune-owned economy, due attention must be paid to the proper division of work between the commune and the large production team. Where the scope [of a task] is small, and it can be undertaken more profitably by the large production team, so far as is possible the team should do it; where the scope is larger and [the task] can be undertaken more profitably by the commune directly, then the commune should do it.

The commune should give special help and pay due regard to poor teams whose foundations and conditions are considerably below par, so that they may change their outlook and catch up with the production level of the rich teams.

In the case of poor teams (either production teams or large teams) where conditions are found to be suitable and where there is special need for their production, it may even be possible for the commune to invest money, undertake basic reconstruction (including the reclaiming of waste land), and expand production, to enable the particular poor team to be converted into a farm directly under the commune. This will help poor team to quickly change their outlook and to strengthen commune-owned economy.

In the case of production teams of the guaranteed-production unit, a small portion of its ownership system lies principally in the rewards for exceeding quotas under the three-guarantees, and its miscellaneous productive enterprises. Under the present circumstances, this small [remaining] element of the ownership system still has its functions in developing productive positiveness within the production teams, in fully exploring productive potentiality, in bolstering production, and in augmenting the income of members, and it must therefore be preserved. All of these factors cannot be overlooked in the active development of commune-owned economy.

OBSERVE THE SITUATION CLEARLY, REDOUBLE YOUR EFFORT,  
USHER IN NEXT YEAR'S GREATER FORWARD LEAP  
IN AGRICULTURE

[This is a complete translation of an editorial appearing in Shang-yu, No 22, Canton, 25 November 1959.]

The present situation of rural villages in the entire province of Kwangtung is unprecedentedly good.

In consequence of the movement for re-education against rightist inclinations, for the stimulation of the spirit of endeavor, and for the intensified pursuit of the general line of socialist reconstruction, the political and ideological awareness of the broad cadres and masses in the province has been immensely enhanced; the general line of socialist reconstruction has become deeply imbued in the minds of the people; and once more, a great victory has been scored in the two-road struggle between socialism and capitalism.

This further enhancement in the revolutionary endeavor and productive enthusiasm of the broad masses has enabled the production movement in the past half year to become more invigorated; it has made our work more solid and fruitful; and it has garnered for us a bumper harvest of the late crops. Since the autumn harvest, reports of victory have come from all parts of Kwangtung: low production has become high, high has become even higher; bumper harvests have appeared in fields of thousands and tens of thousands of mou; and both the per-unit-area output and general output have been salinetly increased.

What is more valuable is that Kwangtung, in thoroughly implementing the "Eight-character Constitution" of agriculture during this year, has gained substantial and systematic experience, thereby creating favorable conditions for the continued forward leap in agriculture hereafter.

Synchronous with the bumper harvest of late crops, phenomenal progress has been achieved by Kwangtung in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary industries, and fishery. In recent months, big strides have been registered in economic crops, forestry, and fishery. The propagation of seed in animal husbandry has forged ahead.

Since the inauguration of diversified operations in October, income from subsidiary industries has grown tremendously, and it is estimated that by year's end, this income will exceed the planned amount by MJP 400 million, thus greatly amplifying rural capital funds.

Consequently, one of the outstanding features in the current rural situation is not only the great bumper harvest of food, crops but that a new look of overall development and over-all leap forward in agriculture, forestry, subsidiary industry, animal husbandry, and fishery has emerged.

Another important facet of the good situation in rural villages lies in the further improvement and consolidation of the people's communes. Following the overhaul during the spring and summer, Kwangtung's people's communes have embarked on the road of sound development. The superiority of "greatness first and communality second" (i-ta erh-kung) has become more and more prominent, and this has greatly stimulated rural production and collective economy.

The growth and strengthening of commune-owned economy is especially fraught with great significance in enlarging the commune's basic reconstruction and technical equipment; in increasing public accumulation; in gradually realizing the technological transformation of agriculture; in accelerating the entire communal economic development which is geared at present to the ownership system of large teams; in helping poor teams to hike their production level; and in broadening the commodity base.

In general, the rural situation is fairly good, and is heading for improvement. Just as has been pointed out by the Kwangtung Party Committee early in November at the secretaries' conference on agriculture, finance, and commerce: In consequence of the deep permeation of the general line in the people's minds, the improvement consolidation, and further demonstration of the superiority of the communes, the experience garnered from this and last year's great leap forward in production, and better conditions in [the area of] water, soil, and fertilizers, coupled with the execution of the agricultural policy so energetically supported by industry, it is axiomatic



that an even greater leap forward during the next year will be inevitable from the standpoint of objective development.

The unfolding of the movement for winter agricultural production and basic rural reconstruction closely following the autumn harvest constitutes the starting point for organizing next year's greater forward leap. The entire success of next year's planning depends on this winter. It behooves our party and people to observe the situation clearly, and with alertness and timeliness, redouble our effort, in order to consummate the following tasks, and to usher in the greater leap forward next year.

First of all, we must continue to intensify the educational movement on the general line of socialist reconstruction which forms the basis of the entire work this winter. During recent months, education on the general line of socialist reconstruction has been launched throughout Kwangtung, thus enabling the broad masses to further realize the superiority of the people's communes and the correctness of the general line. After such activities as the settling of accounts, retrospection, and comparison, they have further recognized that it is only by resolutely embarking on socialism and obeying the party's directives that they will have a happy future.

The views and behavior of a few upper and middle peasants who reflect the self-growing tendency of capitalism have been exposed and criticized by the broad mass. Through such education, the endeavor and enthusiasm of the masses have been further heightened.

In the meantime, through the summing-up of the late crop production and the debates on technological reforms and food policies, the mass has learned more clearly that it is by thoroughly implementing the "Eight-character Constitution" that production will be increased enormously. They also gained a further understanding on the food policy of the party.

On this basis, confronted with the high tide of winter production and the greater forward leap during next year, the focus of education on the general line of socialism should be on production planning: the opening of debates on next year's production planning; the analy-

zing of situations and conditions for next year's greater leap forward; and the concrete devising of next year's production planning and production increase measures.

This production planning must be geared to the exigencies of the greater forward leap next year, by exploring extensively the potentialities for increased production. It must be advanced [progressive], and, at the same time, practical. During the discussions, there is bound to appear a struggle between advanced and conservative ideas; there will be divergent views concerning technological reforms. It is necessary to intensify these discussions, so that by assessing advanced experiences and by relying on the poor and lower-middle peasants, we will overcome rightist conservative ideas and insure the successful enacting of production planning.

Production planning being the outline of action for the common endeavor of the broad mass, its enactment must follow the mass line truly, in order to achieve the coordination between leadership and mass. It is only thus that it may become both advanced and practical, a thing of mass character which can be carried out effectively.

Methods which are simplistic and expedient, evolved naively by a few cadres without reference to practice, and therefore not calculated to fully mobilize the mass, must be opposed as unsatisfactory.

Secondly, we must quickly reach a level of winter production, the pivot on which turns the question of whether we can or cannot bring about next year's greater forward leap. One of the most important phases in winter-spring production is the consummation of basic reconstruction work in the farmlands. During this winter and next spring, the work on conservancy, soil, and fertilizers in Kwangtung must be attacked massively.

As regards conservancy, the target of Kwangtung is to completely eliminate flood and drought in the province by massive efforts in [the next] two or three years. At present, all key projects have been commenced. Leadership cadres should proceed to the various work sites to solve the problems of labor organization and material supplies. In the meantime, tools should be improved, working efficiency hiked, in order to fulfill the work



according to planning. The various small conservancy works must also be completed in accordance with planning.

As regards deep plowing for soil improvement, the foremost task is to quickly plow winter land after the autumn harvest in order to dry the field, and by December, deep plowing will be undertaken, and the field will be systematically smothered to increase its fertility. Deep plowing must be geared to the improvement of the soil. It is planned to improve ten million mou of soil in Kwangtung province. Efforts will be made to [revitalize] the land by eradicating weeds in the fields and between fields in order to curb the breeding of harmful insects.

The movement to accumulate and control fertilizers must be unfolded massively. This involves the accumulation, control (or regulating), and maceration of earth and marine fertilizers, the promotion of fertilizer works of the "Lung-pang style," coordination between accumulation, purchase, and control of fertilizers, and the continued implementation of the "Five-have" system (humans have their lavatory, pigs have their sty, cattle have their pen, farm fields have their manure pool, and production teams have their fertilizer works).

These measures will insure that by next year each mou of land will be provided with 100 tan (piculs) of fertilizers. The quality of these basic reconstructions during this winter and next spring forms the decisive factor in the success or failure of next year's agricultural production.

The area of winter cultivation in Kwangtung during 1959 will reach 20 million mou, of which over 10 million mou is for food (grain) crops. We must meticulously plant these winter crops, especially food crops, in order to insure 1960's spring harvest of food crops at three billion chin or more. This will have a great significance in the realization of the greater forward leap in agriculture next year.

Thirdly, we must continue to enforce the policy under which, while food production is to occupy the central place, and various [other] forms of economic [activity] must be undertaken simultaneously. In food production, the per-unit-area output must be further increased; this

is the basic way to hike the general output of food; simultaneously, while the per-unit-area output is raised, the area of rice cultivation must be kept intact, and where possible, the cultivation area of cereals [vegetables] (principally potatoes) should be enlarged. This is to consummate the policy of dealing with both the principal food crop and the cereal crops for the overall development of food production.

Cereals, it must be realized, form not only a significant portion of food, but can be used as feed in animal husbandry and as raw materials for industry. Cereal production is bound to become more and more important.

Potatoes grow easily, yield large crops, and take little effort to plant. Moreover, there is a large potentiality for increase of production. This policy must be clearly and effectively executed next year.

Economic crops must be attacked energetically during 1960 in order to satisfy the demands of industry for raw materials. The per-unit-area output of the existing bastions of economic crops should be raised massively. Where land is more abundant, new bastions for economic crops should be created, and attention should be paid to the increase of their per-unit-area output.

In animal husbandry, leadership should be further strengthened as from this winter in order to realize next year's greater leap forward. After the autumn harvest, sufficient quantities of grain have been stored up by communes and large teams in Kwangtung for use as feed grain. Cereals have also been increased in the winter planting.

Thus, we have ample grain feed and grass feed for the further expansion of animal husbandry. We must energetically consummate the propagation of cattle, pigs, and poultry. Specialized teams should be formed, and the level of management should be geared up, so that as early as possible, the target of a pig for each person and an ox each mou of land can be realized, and by 1960, there will be not only an abundant supply of meat in the province, but also large quantities of fertilizer from superior livestock to further accelerate agricultural production.

Seedlings and seeds should also be prepared and [the stock of] productive materials enlarged for forestry and fishery, with a view to ushering in next year's greater leap forward.

To cope with the needs of socialist economic reconstruction, there will have to be set up systematically in the province high-production bastions as well as commodity [bastions] of agriculture.

In the next few years, the standard of food production will be that of 1,000 chin of grain per mou of land per harvest. This program will be propagated until the crop yield per mou standard is introduced throughout the province. In the meantime, further experiments for higher output will be made, so that new standards of even higher output can be achieved.

Consequently, high-output [bastions] must be created among the high-output hsien, communes, and production teams. A movement will be launched in 1960 calling for 10 million mou of land in Kwangtung to attain the standard of yielding 1,000 chin of grain per mou per harvest, thus enormously raising the level of agricultural production.

The establishment of bastions for commodity production is an important policy in the development of socialist economy. In the development of socialist economy, there will be a continuous demand for the raising of the commodity ratio of agricultural products and for the increasing of the volume of commodities, in order to meet the ever growing needs of society.

In addition to generally stressing the continuous raising of commodity ratio next year, it is also necessary to establish commodity bastions in some of the hsien, communes, and large teams which have the requisite conditions. Assistance will be given by the state in supplying the necessary fertilizers and productive materials (such as agricultural machinery, materials, equipment, etc.) in order to help the speedy establishment and development of these commodity bastions.

Fourthly, we must systematically undertake the movement for the technological transformation of agriculture and

the further improvement of farm tools. Owing to the great forward leap in production during the past two years and the progress of national industrialization, the conditions for the technological transformation of agriculture, the realization of the "four transformations," namely: mechanization, conservancy, chemistry, and electrification, have become more favorable and opportune.

Beginning in 1960, the agriculture of Kwangtung Province will march further toward the "four transformation". Examples will be set by Canton Municipality and its suburbs, as well as the neighboring counties.

However, in other parts of Kwangtung in general, the accent should still be on the improvement of farm tools. Taking advantage of the massive support which industry is giving to agriculture, we must push the movement of improving agricultural tools to a new high level. While we are undertaking conservancy and other basic reconstruction on the farms, we should energetically forge the mass movement for tool improvement. We must try also to hike labor efficiency by doubling and redoubling our efforts. This is the only way to resolve the insufficiency of labor force at present.

Vis a vis the ever greater forward leap next year, the superiority of "greatness first and communality second" in the people's communes will be further demonstrated. The entire communal economy is bound to make further big strides. We must fully develop the collective economy of the large production teams, and on this basis, actively develop the communal-owned productive enterprises, and gradually raise the proportion of commune-owned economy.

While carrying out these measures, it is necessary to pay special attention to help poor teams to raise their production level in order to approach that of the rich teams. Moreover, we must be more concerned with increasing the labor efficiency and labor productivity of commune-owned economy so that they serve as examples to the large teams of the communes.

In the meantime, the level of labor management, production management, and finance management in the large teams of communes must also be bolstered tremendously.

This is of unusual importance to the further consolidation and development of the people's communes.

Observe the situation clearly, redouble our effort, usher in next year's greater and more complete leap forward: this is the glorious task of the entire province, party, and people of Kwangtung. Let's grasp the opportunity, and riding on the winds and breaking the waves, proudly march ahead in giant steps.

## TWO STANDS, TWO ATTITUDES

[The following is a full translation of an article written by Cheng Ch'un appearing in the Shang-yu, No 22, Canton, 25 November 1959, pages 15-18.]

The socialist reconstruction's general line educational movement of the Shao-kuan special district, as an extensive and intensive revolutionary movement politically and ideologically, has already scored a huge success. It has enabled the socialistic awareness of the entire party and entire people to reach a new stage of advancement.

This movement has enhanced the political and ideological awareness of cadres, party and corps members, and the broad mass of people, in their basic stands and views. It has clarified their muddled ideas and erroneous understandings concerning the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes, so that they were enabled to establish firm socialist stands and views and to foster new ideas and sentiments, completely rejuvenating their spirit as well as outlook.

Through the methods of presenting facts and talking reasons, it has enabled the cadres to garner rich experiences in developing socialist democracy and in settling contradictions among the people. On the basis of enhanced awareness, the spirit of endeavor on the part of cadres and mass has been enormously stimulated, thereby greatly pushing production, accelerating the massive development of collective economy, and hastening the advent of a greater and more comprehensive leap forward in agricultural production.

In the meantime, in the course of this movement, some 200,000 basic level cadres, party and corps members, and active elements among poor, lower, and middle peasants have been trained. Through this severe test, the broad cadres have further purified their own ranks not only from the standpoint of politics and ideology, but also organizationally.

From this movement, we are profoundly convinced that during the period of socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction, we must arm our cadres, party and corps members, and the broad poor, lower, and middle peasants with the most fundamental working-class and socialist stands and views, in order to help them successfully pass the hurdle of socialism.

During the past half year or more, the rightist-inclined opportunists and a segment of the spokesmen of the self-growing force of capitalism among the upper and middle peasants, have opposed, smeared, and attacked the general line, the great leap forward, the people's communes, and the leadership of the party. Their opinions and activities have failed to draw timely and effective counter-attacks. Moreover, among a considerable segment of cadres, muddled ideas existed in regard to these questions, and a few cadres even displayed a certain degree of doubt and wavering.

The basic cause of this phenomenon is that these cadres lacked the firm and clear socialist revolutionary stand and view. Consequently, if we do not arm the cadres and poor, lower, and middle peasants with the basic stands and views, but simply engross ourselves in a number of concrete questions, it will be impossible to make them fully aware of their glorious missions in defending the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes. Even if they could surmount their doubts and wavering this time, new doubts and new waverings are bound to arise when they encounter obstacles in future.

On account of this understanding, we have, during the process of a series of activities from the very beginning of the movement for organizing of contending and blossoming, settlement of accounts, reminiscences, comparisons, key-point debates, searching for perils, and detection of sources and roots, thoroughly implemented the education of two stands, two attitudes, and two roads. This has enabled the broad cadres and the poor, lower, and middle peasants to understand that between us and the rightist-inclined opportunists, the difference is the basic difference between two roads, two lines, and two divergent stands and views.

It has been borne out by facts that only in so doing can we make them more conscientiously defend the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes. It is only thus that we can make them realize that to defend the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes is inseparable from their own interests. Whoever opposes the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes, and whoever sabotages collective production, sabotages his own immediate interests.

Concretely what basic divergences are there between us and the rightist-inclined opportunists?

One of the basic divergences is: the question of whether or not we should embark on the road of socialism, whether or not we should ceaselessly engage in revolution, and whether or not we should push the revolution to its end.

Unquestionably, from the standpoint of the proletariat, we must embark on the road of socialism, and we must push socialist revolution to its end. We want to build in our great fatherland the most satisfactory and the happiest socialistic and communistic society. Inasmuch as we want to build socialism, it goes without saying that we should thoroughly eradicate capitalism. This is a very sharp class struggle.

As we all know, externally, there still exists imperialism; and domestically, the bourgeois class has not yet been thoroughly eliminated. Even if the bourgeois class as an economic class has completely vanished, the influences of the political ideas of the bourgeois class are bound to remain for a considerable period to come.

The people's communes are still implementing the three-grade ownership system based on the ownership of large production teams. Following the development of production and the growth of commune-owned economy, and after the economy of poor teams has caught up with the rich teams, and the economic level of diverse teams has gradually reached a balance, the ownership system of the communes will become a monolithic communal ownership system, thus preparing for the transition toward the people's ownership and communism.



Thus, revolution cannot stop. It is only by waging a ceaseless revolution, by pushing revolution thoroughly to its end, that we will finally eliminate classes. In the meantime, it is only by unfolding technological revolution and cultural revolution, by transforming nature, that we can build socialism and realize the great ideal of communism.

On the other hand, the rightist-inclined opportunists and the self-growing force of capitalism are just the opposite. From their standpoint as bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie, they dread the further progress of revolution, and place their hope on the revival of individualistic economy as well as the free market in which to engage in speculative activities, thereby heading toward the restoration of capitalism.

Such a basic divergence has been sharply reflected in their basic attitude toward the people's communes. While the broad people endorse the people's communes enthusiastically and shout for the long life of communes, they spare no effort to smear and attack the communes. They say that "the people's communes have been built up too fast," that "it is too early," that "it is rotten," that "the commune is not as good as the cooperative, and the cooperative not as good as working independently," and so they demand the so-called "pao-ch'an tao-hu" [guaranteed output to the individual household] method in the retrogressive independent working system.

Thus, they naturally cherish completely different attitudes in regard to certain shortcomings which stem from the lack of experience during the initial stage of the people's communes.

Whereas we consider such shortcomings as unavoidable or inevitable in new things and proceed to surmount them with confidence in order to consolidate and develop the communes, rightist-inclined opportunists and the self-growing force of capitalism seize shortcomings which have either been overcome or are in the process of being surmounted for smear, attack, and exaggeration, in the hope that they will basically negate the communal system, that they can take this opportunity to revive individualistic economy and to restore capitalism.

Obviously, herein lies the struggle of two roads between socialism and capitalism. Unless we have the clear stand of socialist revolution and the attitude of pushing this revolution to its end, we cannot score a thorough-going victory in this struggle.

The second basic divergence is: the question of whether or not we should and can undertake socialist reconstruction in China with high speed. We consider it is necessary and possible for China to undertake socialist reconstruction with a high speed of development.

As we all know, it is necessary to undertake this with speed because China is an economically and culturally backward country of "i-ch'ung erh-pai" [first poor and secondly barren] conditions and externally imperialism prevails and is occupying our territory of Taiwan.

It is only by accelerating our socialist reconstruction that we can consolidate national defense, and speedily and basically rectify the backward outlook of "i-ch'ung erh-pai" conditions to raise the people's standard of living.

It is possible to accelerate reconstruction because high speed development forms the objective law of socialist economy, and it conforms with the strong aspiration of the broad people who wish to rectify the "i-ch'ung erh-pai" situation.

To bolster the spirit of endeavor, to strive for progress and improvement, and to expeditiously and effectively develop the general line of socialism is the concentrated reflection of the objective law of socialist reconstruction and the overwhelming demand of the broad people.

The great leap forward of last year and this year's continuous leap forward have demonstrated that if we should only insist on the party's leadership and political considerations first in order to resolutely implement the general line and to massively launch mass movements, it is entirely possible to build socialism with high speed.

However, the rightist-inclined opportunists advocate "slow-down" and the line of least effort, and oppose the party's general line and great leap forward. Such a line of action is bound to harm socialist reconstruction enterprises, and to profit the bourgeois class and imperialism.

Imperialism and the bourgeoisie are not satisfied with their defeat and death, and after they have lost their hope in overthrowing us, they are bending every effort to make us slow down our pace of reconstruction. Thus, the question of how to deal with high speed building of socialism is also the serious question of class struggle. Here, this two-line struggle is actually the manifestation of the struggle between two roads.

Rightist-inclined opportunists attack the general line by alleging that high speed has brought about "tension in the market, and maladjustment." This is entirely distorted. The great leap forward has borne out that the ratio of our national economy is not unbalanced.

If it is unbalanced, then, how can we have a great leap forward? Not only it is not unbalanced, but it has broken the old ratio relations, and new relations of ratio more suitable to the development of socialist economy have been established.

As to the so-called "market tension," it is our view that in last year's unprecedented great leap forward, such transient and partial phenomena as short supply in certain daily industrial articles and subsidiary foods were setbacks inherent in the victory, and they should not occasion any surprise. Moreover, have not these setbacks been overcome shortly or are in the process of being overcome? The different views and attitudes vis a vis these problems reflect the basic divergences in these two stands.

The third basic divergence is: the question of whether or not we should rely on the masses, mobilize the masses, and energetically launch the mass movement. Marxists have always recognized the mass of people as the creators of history.

Whenever and for whatever reason one is divorced from the masses, nothing can be accomplished. This is the more

so in the building of socialism. Since we want speedy development, it behooves us to rely on the millions of the masses of the people and fully forge their revolutionary positiveness and creativity. The great forward leap of 1958 and this year's continued leap have amply demonstrated this truism.

Inasmuch as we want to energetically launch the mass movement, a correct attitude vis a vis this movement is called for. It is incumbent on us to stand before the mass, to organize the mass, and to cherish and safeguard any amount of revolutionary and constructive positiveness, however insignificant. We must align ourselves with the masses, even to the extent of sharing our breathing and destinies with them.

In the meantime, we should perceive that in a mammoth mass movement, some shortcomings are bound to emerge. However, under the correct leadership of the party, under the guidance of correct policies and line, the achievements and defects of a movement are like the relations between nine fingers of the hands and the other finger [which are inseparable], and these defects are bound to be overcome.

The rightist-inclined opportunists are just the opposite. They dread revolutionary mass movement, and they are opposed to the energetic launching of same. They insinuate that the revolutionary mass movement is the "frantic movement of petty bourgeois." They ignore the great achievements of mass movement, but when they see a defect that amounts in importance to a single finger or even less than a finger, they will deliberately exaggerate it, and maliciously make disparaging criticism, with a view to dampening the revolutionary enthusiasm and endeavor of the broad mass for socialist reconstruction, and to achieving their purpose of slowing down the pace of socialist reconstruction.

The fourth basic divergence is on the question of whether or not we need to insist on the party's leadership and priority for political considerations. We firmly insist on the party's leadership and the priority of political considerations. However, the rightist-inclined opportunists and the self-growing force of capitalism oppose the party's leadership and priority for political considerations.

They declare that "the leadership of the Communist Party is not needed in production," and that "the land will be plowed, be there a party or no party." We must clearly recognize that the party has the strongest stand of proletarian revolution, and the most correct as well as the most scientific world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. The party being the highest form of proletarian organization, in the march toward socialism and communism, the party must lead all.

As it has been boren out by facts, to insist on party leadership and the political considerations first is the dependable guarantee for consummating any task. Once divorced from the party's leadership, we absolutely could not have our present achievement, nor could we build for socialism and communism. If we are resolved to take the road of socialism, we must uphold and protect the party's leadership and the priority for political considerations as assiduously as we protect our eyes. To attack and oppose the party's leadership and the priority of political considerations is tantamount to burying the socialist enterprises and to paving the way for restoration of capitalism.

The above points form our basic divergences with the rightist-inclined opportunists. During the period of socialist revolution and reconstruction, it is imperative to constantly educate the cadres and mass, so that they may firmly and resolutely understand the stands and attitudes of socialist revolution.

At present, the general education is being further intensified in connection with current production and other tasks. All our cadres should, in the course of this movement, steel and strengthen their socialist revolutionary stand, set up correct attitudes and views, and foster new ideas and sentiments. It is only so that we can pass the hurdle of socialism, that when new difficulties arise, we will not be disillusioned, that we can, by employing sharp weapons, struggle with diverse rightist ideologies. It is only so that we can consistently raise the glorious banner of general line, great leap forward, and the people's communes, to march ultimately toward socialist revolution.

INDUSTRIAL AID TO AGRICULTURE  
IS THE KEY TO THE ALL-ROUND AND  
SPEEDY DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY  
AND AGRICULTURE

[The following is the full translation of an article written by Wei Nan-chin, Secretary of the Hainan District Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, appearing in Shang-yu, No 23, Canton, 10 December 1959, pages 1-4.]

Even in the past, we were aware of the truism that local industry should serve agriculture, equip agriculture, and support agriculture in its technological transformations. However, never before have we realized its significance as profoundly as we do today, and never before have we felt the need of it as pressingly as today.

Although the initial foundation of China's industrialization has been laid and communalization has further raised social productivity, the technological level of agriculture still remains rather low. Under these circumstances, if we do not speedily accelerate the technological transformation of agriculture and hike the productivity of agricultural labor, but leave it in a prolonged stage of handicraft labor, not only will the further development of agriculture be affected, but most decidedly also the development of industrial production and reconstruction, as well as the continued leap forward at high speed of the entire national economy will be affected proportionately.

Consequently, it is an urgent economic as well as political task for the entire staff and workers of our industrial department to help agriculture to speedily transform its backward production technology, to undertake tool reforms, and where possible, to procure mechanized equipment.

Under the stimulation of the party's general line and on the basis of last year's great leap forward, the people of the Hainan Island garnered an extraordinarily large bumper harvest in late crops this year. Within some 20 days, the requisition and purchase of autumn food have



been accomplished with over-fulfillment of quotas. The entire year's plan of industrial production as well as the various financial and commercial plans have been fulfilled two months ahead of schedule.

Generally, the economic situation of Hainan, like that of the entire nation and the entire province [of Kwangtung], is very satisfactory. This situation has greatly encouraged the confidence and resolution of the people of Hainan in accelerating the exploration and development of Hainan Island.

However, it is true that at present, the agricultural production techniques in Hainan are still in a state of extreme backwardness, and its agricultural production has failed to meet the needs of industrial reconstruction and the needs of Hainan's development.

Consequently, for a period to come, the policy of productive reconstruction in Hainan will be geared to food production as the principal matter, while food production and the raising of tropical crops will be undertaken simultaneously. This policy is completely necessary and completely correct.

How Hainan's industrial reconstruction should be subordinated to Hainan's entire policy of reconstruction and how it should service agricultural production is a colossal question. Certain deviations have arisen in some areas during last winter and this spring, in connection with this question. For example, in some cases, the emphasis has been purely on the needs of the industry itself, and while attention has been paid to internal development and equipment, relatively little or no attention has been paid to the needs of technological transformation and technological equipment in agriculture. Or the emphasis has been purely on the profit motive.

While products which are easy to sell on the market and fetch high profit are produced more abundantly, there is unwillingness to make capital goods for agriculture which, though urgently needed, yield relatively low profits. These conditions prevent agriculture from obtaining sufficient supplies of much-needed agricultural implements, tools, and materials, thereby affecting agricultural production.

In view of this situation, the agricultural department demanded that both industrial and agricultural departments should stand together by "wearing the common trousers." With a view to correctly resolving the relations between industry and agriculture, we have presented the policy of industrial production in Hainan district during 1959 which, on the basis of guarantees for fulfillment of the national plan for raw material and material production, calls for the massive production of capital goods for agriculture, mass undertaking of food industry, daily necessities, industry, and processing industry, and the further coordination between industry on the one hand and the production of agriculture, forestry animal husbandry, fishery, and subsidiary industry on the other.

On the basis of this policy, some of the hsien have concretely advanced the slogan that "with the improvement of agricultural tools as basis, the local industry of hsien and communes should be developed." This has helped not only to push agricultural production, but also industrial production.

The Central Committee, seeing that an initial foundation has been laid in national industrial reconstruction, and that while the broad rural villages have been completely communalized, yet agricultural technology remains backward, has opportunity formulated the policy stressing that national industry should serve the transformation of agricultural technology and equipment. This has afforded us a clear line to follow.

The relative insufficiency of labor force has been a prevailing phenomenon in the province and in the nation ever since the great leap forward. It is also a serious problem in the industrial and agricultural production as well as socialist reconstruction in Hainan. In order to develop Hainan and to accelerate its socialist reconstruction, we must, first of all, resolve this problem.

To do so, apart from the decisions of the Central Committee and the Provincial Committee of the Party calling for immigration from outside, the most important method, from our own standpoint, is to raise the labor efficiency of all productive and reconstruction departments, especially the labor efficiency in agricultural production. This is because among the three million-odd people of



Hainan, agricultural population forms 80 percent of the total. Very obviously, unless the rural labor force is further liberated, [for other work], the need of labor force in other quarters will never be met.

At present, each laboring individual in Hainan's rural villages works on seven or eight mou of land, and plowing technique is rather backward. Although since liberation under the correct leadership of the party enormous increases have been registered in agricultural production and salient improvements have been made technologically, yet the plowing is still crude and labor efficiency remains low. Under these circumstances, the prospect of further hiking agricultural production and enlarging the area of cultivation cannot but be limited.

According to present circumstances, there will be a shortage in labor force of roughly 200,000 men [to be erased], if Hainan is to accomplish the agricultural production target set for 1960 by the Provincial Committee. Since labor shortage is experienced in the rural villages, it is out of the question to recruit labor force therefrom to build railways, highways, harbors, reservoirs, or to reinforce factory and mining production, or to engage in large-scale reclamations. In this way, the pace of socialist development and reconstruction in Hainan will be limited.

Very obviously, the key question of accelerating the development and reconstruction of Hainan is to speedily transform agricultural technology, enhance the labor productivity in agriculture, enormously hike the output volume and commodity ratio of agricultural products, so that the needs of socialist reconstruction and the people's livelihood will be met, and by further economizing on the labor force used in agriculture, there will be a surplus to attend to needs of industry, communications, and reclamation.

Concretely speaking, transformation of agricultural technology consists of the attainment of mechanization, electrification, conservancy, and [use of] chemical fertilizers. The realization of the "four transformations" is not only a task of the agricultural front, but also of the industrial front. Without the aid of industry, the

"four transformations" of agriculture will be impossible. Thus, to aid agriculture and to serve agriculture constitutes the most important task of the industrial front.

National industrialization includes the "four transformations." The development of industry must have for its premises the positive transformation of agricultural technology and the energetic development of agricultural production. Otherwise, it will not solve the needs of raw materials, labor force, capital and marketing incidental to industrial production, thus inevitably affecting the industrial development per se and the pace of national industrialization.

This state of affairs is also very evident in the conditions of industrial production in Hainan. Since 1958, there has been an over-all and extraordinary leap forward in Hainan's industrial situation. However, difficulties have not been lacking in the course of productive reconstruction. For instance, two of our foremost difficulties are the lack of raw materials and insufficiency of labor force.

Owing to the insufficiency of raw material supply, the capacity of some of the modern light industries cannot be fully activated. For instance, according to its natural endowment, Hainan can be developed into a base for sugar refining with cane sugar. Since 1955, a dozen or more modernized sugar refineries have been set up, and their daily capacity has reached 3,500 tons of sugar.

However, owing to the shortage of raw material [sugar], only one-fourth of their present capacity is used, thus creating the false phenomenon of the surplus of productive capacity. Being in the sub-tropics, Hainan is excellently suited to the growing of cane, and abundant land for this purpose is available. Why then has there developed a shortage of raw material for sugar refineries? Basically, this is due to the backwardness of Hainan's agricultural techniques which have not been thoroughly reformed.

Owing to their low production level, the peasants of Hainan, apart from fulfilling their annual tasks for food production, find no surplus energy to develop economic crops and to engage in multiple operations. The output of industries making consumer goods in Hainan constitutes

some 53 percent of the total output value. However, almost 90 percent of the raw materials for consumer goods' industries are derived from multiple operations in rural villages. When the development of multiple operations is poor, the development of light industries will also be poor.

In consequence of the low technological level in agriculture, the bulk of labor force is compelled to be permanently tied down to land, thereby causing a serious shortage of labor force in industry, communications and transportation, and other enterprises, and affecting their normal pace of development. Consequently, it is by energetically undertaking the technological transformation of agriculture and by enormously raising labor productivity that we can maintain the pace of the continuing great leap forward.

In the meantime, the labor force that has been originally used in agriculture in Hainan district must be liberated by tens and hundreds of thousands, and then transferred to various other economic departments in order to hasten their development. It is only so that we can really grasp the initiative in pushing the over-all socialist enterprises. It is only by continuing to maintain agriculture's speedy great leap forward that we can greatly increase the income of peasants and further consolidate the people's communes, and, moreover, enable communal economy to gradually ascend from [the system of] basic ownership by the large teams to commune ownership, and from collective ownership, to ownership by all the people.

It will be seen that the Central Committee's emphasis on massive aid on the part of industry for the technological transformation of agriculture so that the technological transformation will be undertaken simultaneously with socialist industrialization is unusually important and timely. Whoever fails to see this point and fears that this may injure industrial development, and whoever regards this appeal of the Central Committee as a temporary improvisation, and refuses to see in it the new content and new development under the new exigencies of the party's policy of emphasizing industry and agriculture side by side, will lose his orientation and commit deviations in his work.

Contrarily, whoever grasps the point of industrial aid to agriculture, he will get the gist of the policy of simultaneous undertaking in industry and agriculture,

Not only is it necessary for the entire national economy to undertake the technical transformations of agriculture and to gradually implement the "four transformations" in Hainan, but the prerequisites for these transformations are completely present.

First, state farms in Hainan employ some 400,000 staff and workers, and own some four million mou of arable land. With the mechanized equipment granted by the state and the massive support of local industries in Hainan, coupled with the development of large conservancy works, these farms of ownership by all people will be in a position to set an example in implementing the "four transformations."

Secondly, since the realization of communalization, the concept of "i-ta erh-kung" (first greatness, and second communality) has been fully developed, so that mechanized farming on extensive areas and the all-out regulation of conservancy have now become feasible.

Thirdly, the people of Hainan, due to their backwardness in plowing technique, have been compelled to engage for a long period in arduous physical labor, and following the post-liberation reforms in plowing, they earnestly desire the early implementation of the "four transformations." This has furnished the ideological basis for the "four transformations."

Fourthly, since communalization, the phenomenal development of commune-owned economy is also a most favorable factor. During this year, the net income of communes in Hainan from commune-owned economy forms about 20 percent of the net income from all communal economy. The net income from commune-owned economy in certain communes, such as the Na-ta Commune in Chan-hsien, has reached 50 percent or more, and this commune has accumulated public funds amounting to Yuan 960,000 (JMP). This is to say that a certain amount of reserve has been made available for the realization of "four transformations."

Fifthly, when the time comes for the realization of the "four transformations" on a nationwide basis, help for Hainan will come from the nation's industry which has already laid an initial foundation (it is anticipated that during next year, several hundred tractors will be granted the Hainan state farms for reclamation). Moreover, the local industries of Hainan which have made certain strides will be able to resolve some of the district's own problems. These industries can supply the island's needs, except in such products as mammoth agricultural machinery, transportation machinery (such as automobiles), generators and steel materials for which the support of the nation and the province will be needed. The technological prerequisites of industry, such as capital reserves, form an indispensable material basis for the technological transformation of agriculture.

From the above, it will be seen that the realization of the "four transformations" in Hainan is completely feasible, and its pace will be fast rather than slow. Of course, we must absolutely not consider it as something easy to undertake. In point of fact, it is a most arduous task. According to experiences derived from the large-scale reclamation and growing of tropical crops with machinery, as well as the experiences from the reform of agricultural tools during the last few years in Hainan, the task of the "four transformations" is not only a complex economic and organizational task, but it is also subtle ideological task and a work of human transformation.

For instance, in certain mountainous regions, the peasants are still unaccustomed to using the grain-threshing machine, but insist on using the antiquated method of stamping the grain with the feet of cattle. Thus, to realize the "four transformations," we must enforce political considerations first, and constantly emphasize the consummation of ideological work. We must also realize that there is a process for realizing the "four transformations" and heaven is reached in a single giant step.

At present, we must adopt the policy of introducing new machinery and improving farm tools, and of using both local and imported resources. Consequently, we must pay special attention to pushing communes-operated industry, in order to give shape to its functions in the

process of technological transformation of agriculture.

Some of our impatient comrades hope for tractors and automobiles, but refrain from starting with available materials to improve tools, to fully forge the human positiveness, and to devise all measures possible to bolster labor efficiency. This is very impractical. In pushing the "four transformations," there must be positiveness and orderliness. The technological transformation of agriculture in Hainan district, as in the entire nation, must undergo the procedure of transition from the old to the new, from the low to the high, and from the few to the many in the course of development.

A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF RAISING  
THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION

[The following is the full translation of an article written by Liu K'un-lin appearing in Shang-yu, No 23, Canton, 10 December 1959, pages 15-17, 25.]

Our school is the principal ground on which workers with socialist awareness and with culture are developed. Consequently, its basic task is to resolutely and thoroughly implement the policy of coordinating education and productive labor, to improve the quality of teaching, and to consummate teaching work.

Of course, besides teaching in classrooms, there are other tasks, such as organizing the students to take part in productive labor, unfolding scientific researches, and undertaking other social activities. However, in the order of importance, the school's main task is teaching, and all other tasks must be pursued around this main one.

Otherwise, it will be difficult for the school to carry out its task of fostering talents for building socialism and communism. Consequently, to improve the quality of teaching in a whole-day system school is a routinely basic task.

Important strides have been made in education in the special district of Shao-kuan after its great educational revolution and the further implementation of the party's educational policy. The outlook of schools has been completely renovated, the number of students has increased enormously, and the character, intelligence, and health of students have made remarkable strides. This is evidence of the salient improvement in the political and ideological awareness of the teachers, in their work positiveness, and in their teaching ability. Nobody can deny that this is the main current in our teaching work.

However, the bourgeois educators are bound to completely deny these achievements, and they may even regard them as "defects" and "mistakes." This goes to prove that the question of the quality of teaching, like all



other questions, cannot be viewed apart from the class viewpoint.

Of course, we must also realize that in some schools, the quality of teaching still falls considerably behind demand, and is far from being ideal. To raise the quality of teaching is to bring the educational revolution into a new stage of development. Thus, the further raising of teaching quality is an important problem that must be satisfactorily resolved in our educational work.

From the practical experiences of certain schools in the Shao-kuan special district, efforts must be made in several basic directions in order to thoroughly and completely enforce the party's educational policy and to ceaselessly raise the teaching quality.

(1) Continuous strengthening of the party's leadership in educational work:

Experience shows that insistence on political considerations first is the basic factor in strengthening the party's educational leadership and in achieving the huge victory of educational revolution. This is also the basic guarantee for the further implementation of the party's educational policy and the continuous raising of the quality of teaching.

It is only under the party's leadership that qualitatively and quantitatively phenomenal development in educational enterprise can be achieved, and that education will better serve socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction. Therefore, the party's leadership in education must be further strengthened hereafter.

How to strengthen the party's leadership in education? Apart from asking the various grades of party committees to put the question of raising the quality and quantity of teachers in the schools on their conference agendas, we must also concretely demonstrate the party's leadership function by strengthening the political and ideological work among teachers and students, and adequately arrange the schedules for teaching and for labor.



In order to study, discuss, and resolve certain vital problems in education, fully forge the functions of party organizations in schools so as to insure the enforcement of party educational policy, and constantly undertake the work of penetrating into the masses, examining them, and assessing experiences.

(2) Serious and speedy raising of the level of political ideology and teaching ability of currently employed teachers:

The educator must, first of all, be educated. The quality of a teacher affects directly the intellectual and moral quality of the student. In order to foster qualified talent, we must first of all have qualified teachers. In the last few years, following the phenomenal strides in educational enterprise, the allocation and replenishment of teachers, both qualitatively and quantitatively, considerably lag behind the needs of the growing situation.

Consequently, besides energetically forging and bolstering the various grades of normal education in order to massively train teaching personnel, a pressing task is for the administrative departments of education and the administrators in schools to take effective measures to improve the level of political ideology and teaching ability of currently-employed teachers.

There are many ways to raise the level of teachers. Principally, it is to strengthen the teacher's study of political theories, and his study of the teaching profession. Through such studies and participation in proper productive labor, the teacher will be enabled to continuously reform his ideology, rectify his stand and view, enhance his political and ideological awareness and teaching level, in order to better implement the party's educational policy, to improve continuously his teaching work, and to use his correct stands and views, as well as his rich scientific knowledge, to train the younger generation.

To raise the political awareness and the theoretical level of the teacher is the first condition which insures that the teaching will have a clear purpose. Consequently, we should actively organize the teachers to pursue the study of political theories. A specific schedule should

be set up and a definite system should be evolved, and regularity in the teachers' study of political theories should be maintained. Moreover, we must make timely criticisms of the tendency of [some] teachers to care only for teaching and neglect the studying of political theories.

At this moment, it is necessary to take hold seriously of education in the general line of socialist reconstruction by profoundly inspecting, criticizing, and overcoming all rightist ideas, all bourgeois views of education and bourgeois individualism.

It is only by intensifying the general line educational movement and by regularly consummating the political and ideological work that the party's educational policy will be implemented and the object of continuously raising the quality of teaching will be achieved.

The raising of the level of teachers' professional study and professional level will also have important repercussions in bolstering the quality of teaching. The new schools of socialism demand that their teachers exercise leadership functions in their teaching under the guidance of party committees, on the principle that teaching and studying are mutually beneficial. This is also to say that teacher should seriously undertake a program of work in "preaching, instructing, and clarification."

He must, on the basis of the party's educational policy, teaching outlines and material, explain correctly, clearly, and vividly, the basic knowledge, and coordinate them with practice, so that this knowledge is easily accessible to the students.

To perform these tasks, the teacher himself must have a clear and thorough comprehension of the course he teaches, so that through lecturing, correction of exercises, and guidance, the students may really gain knowledge. It takes ceaseless and arduous efforts for a people's teacher to consummate his tasks.

Next, it is important that the school take the mass line in its leadership in teaching and in the teachers' teaching activities. Among the teachers, the mass view-

point of "students as the main thing" must be maintained. In order to avoid subjective teaching, the teacher must constantly consider problems in relation to the practical conditions of the students, when he attends to lecturing, preparations, correction of exercises, and guidance work.

The teacher must fully understand who are the object of his work. How is their capacity to receive? What is their intellectual foundation? It is only so that "teaching can be done in accordance with talent." If this is overlooked by the teacher, if he forgets that teaching is a process of mutual activities shared by teacher and students, it will be difficult to raise teaching quality by the efforts of the teacher alone.

Consequently, while teaching a class, the teacher should decide on a special line of teaching method that is based on the special features of the teaching material of different courses, the special features of the different ages of students, and the teaching objective of each chapter and section; he must not adopt a stereotyped method.

The accumulation of knowledge is a gradual process. Therefore, it behooves the teacher to instruct the students from as many angles as possible. Any impetuosity in thinking and impatience in method is bound to bring bad results.

In order to enhance the teachers' teaching level, the school authorities should coordinate closely the daily teaching work with the unfolding of teaching research activities. Such activities may assume diverse forms, such as researches on special subjects to be sponsored by the teaching-research section, organizing groups to study teaching methods, organizing meetings for the interchange of experiences, cooperation between new and old teachers, organizing teachers to visit factories and farms on a routine basis in order to augment their knowledge and to enrich the content of their teaching, etc. These activities are bound to help considerably the raising of the political as well as professional level of the teachers, and so also raising their teaching quality.

(3) Strengthening the political and ideological education of the students:

It has been said before that in the process of teaching, close relations exist between teacher and student. On the part of the students, it is inconceivable that they will have a high degree of positiveness in learning if they do not have a clear objective in studying and a correct study attitude. They will cause difficulties in teaching, thus preventing the improvement of teaching quality.

This proves that in order to raise the quality of teaching, we must strengthen the ideological and political work of the students, resort to persuasive and instructive educational methods, and through diverse forms and manners, such as coordination with pragmatism in teaching, organize the students to participate in the popular political movements and proper productive labor. These activities are calculated to enable the students to raise their political awareness, to understand their object in studying, to link their study with socialist and communist reconstruction enterprises, and to deeply realize the glorious responsibility of young students in the MAO Tzu-tung era.

Inasmuch as the young and juvenile students are in the formative stage in regard to their world outlook and life philosophy, it is incumbent upon the school authorities and teachers to help their students, through diversified education, gradually to establish the dialectical materialist and historical materialist world outlook and revolutionary life philosophy, criticize the diverse individualistic study objectives and erroneous study attitudes, and stimulate their self-consciousness in studying. In the meantime, they should also stringently ask the students to preserve study discipline and to fulfill their study tasks on time.

(4) Adequately arranging the schedules for study and labor:

The question of teaching order and work arrangement is also closely related to the question of raising the quality of teaching. It has been borne out by facts that where the schedule for teaching and productive labor is well, systematically, and purposefully arranged, where teaching, productive labor, and scientific research activities are coordinated organically, the teaching quality is

saliently enhanced, and new socialist talents suited to the performance of mental labor as well as physical labor are being fostered.

The adequate arranging of schedules for study and labor insures not only the raising of the quality of teaching in the school, it may also enable the teachers and students to have ample time and energy for professional study and to review lessons.

Teaching is a very minute and very enduring work, and it must be performed step by step. Without a good teaching program, a comparatively quiet study environment, and a prescribed study schedule, it will be difficult for both teachers and students to pursue research intensively. Especially, if the students do not have time to do their lessons and exercises, they will not be able to digest and comprehend their lessons, and it will be difficult to raise the quality of teaching.

Thus, in arranging the schedule of various activities in a whole-day system school, the principle of making teaching and study as the main thing should be observed. The time for students to participate in productive labor should not be too much, nor should it be too little. If too little, the students will be deprived of the steeling provided by labor; and if too much, it will affect teaching and study.

Each school should make proper arrangements, in order to thoroughly implement the party's educational policy, and to achieve the object of raising the quality of teaching.

The question of raising the quality of teaching is one of great importance. It is one that is bound to crop in the further implementation of the party's policy that "education should serve the politics of the proletariat, and education must be coordinated with productive labor." This is also where the attack on the party's educational policy by rightist-inclined opportunists is focused. Consequently, it deserves our great attention.

We should, through this anti-rightist rectification movement, refute the fallacies of the rightist-inclined

opportunists, clarify all kinds of muddled ideas, stimulate the spirit of endeavor, and resort to all kinds of methods so that the quality of teaching in our schools will be ceaselessly enhanced.

(Editor's note: the writer is vice commissioner of the special district of Shao-kuan.)

CORRECTLY MANAGE ACCUMULATION AND CONSUMPTION  
IN THE PEOPLE'S COMMUNES

[The following is a full translation of an article (directive) by the Rural Work Department of the Hopeh Party Committee appearing in Tung-feng, No 22, pages 5-8, 25 November 1959.]

At present work is proceeding in various parts of the province in the overhaul and reconstruction of rural people's communes. In this work the emphasis is generally on the question of accumulation and consumption which are in the process of distribution. This is very necessary because, after communalization, this is the first year in which the yearly distribution is made.

Moreover, this distribution is being made under the circumstances of a bumper harvest and when we are heading toward the target of the "ssu-hua" [four transformations involving mechanization, electrification, water conservancy, and chemistry] of agriculture.

The correct disposal of this question is fraught with great significance in mobilizing the labor positivism of the broad membership, in organizing more properly the greater forward leap of next year's agricultural production, in accelerating the technological transformation of agriculture, and in implementing the great task suggested by the provincial party committee that "after three to five years years of arduous struggle, we will change basically the face of agricultural production in our province."

The question of how to deal with the relations between accumulation and consumption in the people's commune is one of extreme importance and complexity. It involves not only production, but also livelihood, not only the present and long-range interests of the member, but also the relations between members, the group, and the state.

Judging by the conditions of work distribution during the first stage, it would seem that the handling of the question of accumulation and consumption in various

localities is generally correct in that attention has been paid not only to the adequate enlargement of accumulation, but also in insuring that the income of the members is commensurably increased.

But in some localities certain improper and incorrect views are obtained. Some people deem that, in order to accelerate the realization of the "four transformations" of agriculture, the more accumulation the better. Others deem that in order to improve the members' livelihood and bolster their spirit of endeavor, it is necessary "to deduct less and to share more."

Among a segment of rich middle peasants who are seriously infected with capitalist ideology, there is extreme opposition to delivering the accumulation of their communes, and they also oppose accumulation by their own teams.

Both of the above-mentioned views seem to be incompatible with the correct solution of the relations between accumulation and consumption. The former disregards the present objective conditions, and by augmenting the public accumulation without limits it will prevent the members from seeing the salient material benefits stemming from increased production, thereby affecting their productive positiveness as well as the growth of their production.

In the latter, the tendency is to be concerned only with the present, not the future, with the individual, not the group, and it is bound to have serious repercussions on the development of productive capacity.

Although the idea of "deduct less and share more" is traceable to the awareness of certain cadres and members, it can be taken as an important manifestation of the self-growing tendency of capitalism in the course of struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism in rural villages. Consequently, this must be clarified and resolved in the process of distribution.

The principle of correctly managing the relations between accumulation and consumption is to coordinate correctly the collective and long-range interests with



individual and present interests, so that while they redound to the speedy development of production and reconstruction of the people's commune, they are also beneficial to the steady improvement of the people's livelihood.

We cannot merely stress individual and present interests by wantonly lowering the ratio of capital accumulation; similarly, we also cannot merely concern ourselves with collective and long-range interests by inadequately lowering the ratio of capital consumption.

The principle for correctly resolving this question should be for individual interest to be subordinated to collective interest, present interest to long-range interest, and where possible, to accumulate more, but in the meantime, to pay due regard to individual and present interests.

The accumulation and consumption relationship in the people's commune is one of conflicting unification. Basically speaking, accumulation and consumption are unified, since the purpose of accumulation is to augment the capital for enlarged reproduction, to promote the speedy development of production, and to insure to the members [the satisfaction of] their constantly growing material and cultural needs in their livelihood.

However, contradiction exists between these two, because whereas accumulation caters to the collective and long-range interests of the members, consumption serves their individual and present interests. The augmentation of accumulation is bound to some degree to affect the increase of consumption; if consumption is raised, it is bound to some degree to curtail accumulation commensurately.

This seems to be our situation. On one hand, we must, in the course of three to five years, realize the "four transformations" and basically change the face of agricultural production, and we must continuously augment accumulation.

On the other hand, judging from the people's communes in the province, the picture of economic backwardness has not been basically altered; labor production rate remains still rather low; the people's standard of living is still comparatively low. Consequently, the growth of accumula-

tion cannot but be hindered. This is a contradiction. But as the basic purpose of accumulation and consumption is unified, it is entirely feasible to resolve this contradiction correctly by applying the principle of "unified planning and mutual consideration, and proper preparations."

The key to correctly managing the relations between accumulation and consumption is to grasp the main facet of contradiction; namely, energetically develop production. To do so is not only to consolidate and forge the material foundation of the system of people's communes, but also to conserve the foundations for the ceaseless uplift of the people's standard of living. In "The Resolution Concerning Certain Problems of the People's Communes:"

The Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Eighth Party Congress points out the following: "Since we are enthusiastic toward Communist enterprises, we must first of all be enthusiastic in forging our productive capacity." In order to develop productive capacity, we must continuously enlarge accumulations. The pace of the growth of accumulation has an important bearing on the speed of the development of production. It is only after we have accumulated more that we can have the material guarantee for further and enlarged reproduction. Similarly, it is only with the speedy development of production that the living standard of the people can be pushed more expeditiously.

Thus, in dealing with the ratio between accumulation and consumption, it behooves us to start from the basic concept of positively forging production, in order to continuously increase accumulation. If we don't start on such a premise, it will be a mistake to merely pay regard to the present interests of the members. Especially, wealthy teams which have pushed up their production more should accumulate more.

Of course, it is also wrong if we confine our attention to forging production, augmenting accumulation, but fail to improve the livelihood of the people. This is because the ultimate goal of our production and reconstruction is to continuously satisfy the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people. Consumption, almost at any time, will positively affect the development of production and reconstruction.

Both the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao have especially stressed the gradual uplifting of the people's level of consumption on the basis of developing production. In "The Resolution Concerning Certain Problems of the People's Communes" submitted at the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Eighth Party Congress, "On the basis of production development, it is important that the portion of income to be used for the members' individual consumption and collective consumption (including such segments as public welfare and cultural and educational enterprises) be increased year by year, so that the people's livelihood will be improved year by year."

It also points out that: "generally speaking, it is necessary that the income of 90 percent of the members should register increases over last year's, while the income of the remaining members should not fall below that of last year's." This directive of the Party's Central Committee is of extreme importance. If we should overlook this point, we are bound to make the people's present interests conflict with their long-range interests, thus affecting the development of production.

However, inasmuch as the development of production cannot catch up with the ever-growing needs of the people's livelihood, the improvement of the people's livelihood must not be too fast or too great. Generally speaking, on the basis of development of production, the rate of increase in accumulation should considerably exceed the rate of increase in consumption; the rate of increase in labor production in society should considerably exceed the average increase in the level of consumption.

Otherwise, failing to accumulate, the entire product will be eaten up, even though production has been developed. This is not in keeping with either the long-range or the present interests, or in keeping with either the collective or individual interests of the members.

To seriously consummate the work of distribution and to correctly resolve the relations between accumulation and consumption, [we should undertake the following:]

In accordance with current conditions, we should, on the one hand, undertake the struggle of two roads and the education of socialism in order to consolidate the superi-

ority of the people's communes, energetically mobilize the masses and promote the great contending, great blooming, and great debating of a mass character. Through these means, [we may] unify the concepts and rectify ideas of the mass. This will enable everybody to understand clearly the significance of accumulation to individual members and to the group.

On the other hand, we should fully rely upon and mobilize the mass realistically to fix the output and income. When these two tasks are performed, the ideological and material foundations for correctly managing the relations between accumulation and consumption will have been laid. Failing to consummate these two tasks, it will be basically impossible to achieve the goal of correctly resolving accumulation and consumption relations.

When the general ratio between accumulation and consumption is fixed, the main contradiction lies in the withdrawal and use of accumulation funds. How much should the production team send up and how much should it retain for itself?

Generally speaking, those teams which have this year increased their production and operated on a better foundation should pay more to their communes. Where the production increase is meager, income is little, and the team's production and livelihood still need the support of the commune or the state, it may be exempt from payment.

The spending of accumulated funds, whether by the commune or production team, must be adequately prescribed in order to avoid lavishness. Principally, the accumulated funds of the commune should be used to procure large-type agricultural machinery, to massively undertake rural water conservancy, to serve poor teams and to develop industry which serves agriculture, communal members, and other big industries.

The accumulated funds to be retained by the production team should also be used essentially for the capital construction of medium and small fields, to procure livestock, and to set up medium and small agricultural tools repair works. The funds must not be spent recklessly. It is only in this way that the utility of the accumulated funds can be developed.

Only a year or more has elapsed since the inception of our people's commune. Indeed, we have launched a great many activities. However, it is obviously impossible if comrades in charge of this or that segment of work should undertake the numerous tasks simultaneously, so that everything will be launched at once.

Naturally, we should undertake as much as possible where the work involved could be done inexpensively or where much could be accomplished with a little money. Nevertheless, we must concentrate our energy to attend to the most needed and most important matters, so that the fund accumulated is spent for the most urgent [needs] and the high speed of production development is insured. By first attending to the most urgent needs, we are also creating the conditions to launch more enterprises later on.

In the distribution involving the member's individual consumption, we must correctly fix the ratio between the wage portion and the supply portion. The distribution system of the people's commune in which both the wage and supply systems have been coordinated represents an innovation of our people's commune in the formula of socialist distribution. It has enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the people.

The practice in the past year has demonstrated that this kind of distribution system in which the wage and supply systems are coordinated is a good form of Communist factor (yin-su) for gradually enlarging distribution by regulating wages according to labor. The more labor one performs the greater the gain. It removes the heavy burden of livelihood which, for centuries, has oppressed the broad [mass of] peasants, particularly poor peasants, so that they may pleasantly participate in labor production to create more wealth for society and to expand their own income. It resolves the questions of the so-called "over-drawn family" and "insolvent family" which, in the past, had remained unsolved in agriculture, and thus further insures the implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor and the more labor the greater the gain.

At present, the overwhelming portion of production teams in communes have, pursuant to the spirit of the directive

of the Provincial Party Committee and the level of production income of the team in question, carried out the basic food [ration] supply system, or partial food supply system.

There are, however, a few production teams which, under the dominance of some rich peasants, have failed to carry out the system, though they have the wherewithal for it. They say that "to practice the supply system is to gouge flesh to repair the ulcer."

This kind of view has been resolutely opposed by the broad peasant masses, and it should be effectively censured by the current communal rectification movement in rural villages in order to facilitate the implementation of the distribution system based upon the coordination of both the wage and supply systems.

Of course, where the conditions for enforcement are lacking, or the supply portion is excessive, that too is improper. We must point out: the distribution system in which wage system and supply system are coordinated forms basically the "distribution in accordance with labor" of a socialistic nature.

Under present conditions, the wage portion must exceed the supply portion. As has been pointed out in "The Resolution Concerning Certain Problems in the People's Communes" adopted by the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Eighth Party Congress: "For a long period, the wage portion of distribution in accordance with labor will occupy an important place, in the come of the members of people's communes, and during a certain time, it will occupy the principal place.

With a view to stimulating the labor positiveness of members, and satisfying more easily the complex needs of members in their livelihood, the commune must endeavor to facilitate a gradual increase in the wage earned by members, and for a certain number of years, [the wage portion] must be increased more rapidly than the supply portion.

This directive of the Party's Central Committee is entirely correct. It is only thus that we can benefit the development of socialism; that we can create the conditions for transition into Communism in the future. As to the methods of distribution, there may be diverse concrete forms.



In accordance with the experience obtained by various localities in this province, the method of labor appraisal, labor point registration, and distribution by labor-day seems to be most practicable. By this process, we are in a position to stimulate members to participate positively in labor, and to integrate the individual interests of the members with their collective interests.

To manage correctly the accumulation and consumption in the people's commune, it is necessary as in any other work, to insist on political consideration first by consummating the Party's task in political ideology.

Under present conditions, we should resort to the struggle of two roads and the education of socialism as our principal endeavor; we should use as our slogan the beautiful prospect of realizing the "four transformations," in order to stimulate the political zest and labor positiveness of the broad mass of communal members. We must educate the broad members to continue their arduous struggle, to march toward the great goal of "four transformations," to criticize and overcome the narrow viewpoint of feeling satisfied with the present level of production, or bickering for the distribution of their present income.

In the meantime, we must continue to persist the policy of industry and frugality in communal management in order to avoid lavishness. It is only thus that we can correctly manage accumulation and consumption relations, to make them benefit the consolidation and development of people's communes, and to redound to the further development of production.

ON "TAKE ONLY WHAT YOU LIKE, IGNORE  
WHAT YOU DISLIKE"

[The following is a full translation of an article written by Wang Lien appearing in the Tung-feng, No 22, published by the Tung-feng Tsa-chih She, Tientsin, 25 November 1959, pages 20-22.]

"Take only what you like, ignore what you dislike." This malicious attack has been made against us by rightist-inclined opportunists regarding the question of achievements and shortcomings. It implies that "you only like to hear about the good, not the bad."

Now, let's dwell first on the so-called "like only to hear about the good." Generally, there are somethings you'll like to hear and there are some you don't. This is so in our daily life; this is even more so in our political life.

When the rightist-inclined opportunists insinuate that we have preferences, in point of fact, don't they also have preferences? Only in content is there a basic difference between our preferences and theirs.

"You like only to hear about the good." What is this "good?" It is namely the overwhelming revolutionary zest engendered by the entire people under the illumination of the Party's general line; it is the style of Communism displayed by the laboring mass in their work and labor, in which they don't talk about work terms, disregard remunerations, place public interest before private interest, and sacrifice themselves for the public; it is the revolutionary perseverance and thoroughgoing spirit with which the broad masses dare to shatter the old systems and break away from all old ideas.

In short, whatever benefits the socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction, we will consider it the greatest boon. How can we not like to hear about them? Frankly speaking, not only do we like to hear, we will never get tired of hearing of every single achievement and vic-



tory of socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction. Every time we hear it, we experience a tremendous heartening and education, and with redoubled confidence, we march together with the teaming masses toward new victories.

If anyone should be "irritated" at the sound of victory in socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction and therefore deliberately refuse to see and to hear it, it indicates that he is extremely resentful of and apathetic toward the socialist enterprise and the revolutionary mass movement.

Since the rightist-inclined opportunists are averse to hearing about socialism, they must like something else. What do they like? They like the so-called criticisms that: "The great leap forward is too tense," "The ratio is out of place," "The gain cannot offset the loss," "the people's commune is premature and a failure," "The group has reduced the freedom [of the individual]."

In short, where the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's commune are attacked, they will not only listen to such views avidly, but also do their utmost to propagate them!

Should anyone try to resist accepting such anti-socialist voice, they are bound to accuse that "you are unilaterally subjective," that "you only take what you like and ignore what you dislike."

In point of fact, this sentence is tantamount to the self-portrayal of rightist-inclined opportunists. With a single stroke, they dismiss our great working achievements, and laboriously they seize certain of our temporary, partial, and often [minor] shortcomings which have already been surmounted in order to proselytize against us. What is this if not "take only what you like, ignore what you dislike?"

That between the rightist-inclined opportunists and us exist different likes and interests is nothing to wonder at. Between these two, there is a basically different class standpoint and viewpoint.

In a society where class still prevails, it is fundamentally impossible to ask for common likes and interests from

classes whose interests conflict. Although the rightist-inclined opportunists have also participated in revolution, their standpoint and viewpoint of the bourgeois class have not been transformed; nor have they ever developed a genuine community of sympathy and interest with the laboring masses.

Especially at a time when the socialist revolution is being intensified and the final elimination of the exploiting class and the private ownership system of means of production becomes imminent, they are bound to drift away from the laboring in their sentiment more than ever.

There is no wonder then that they should experience such "irritation" at the voice of the laboring masses and the great victory of socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction, while they find the voice of support for capitalism and opposition to socialism so harmonious and so interesting. This is the reason why rightist-inclined opportunists "like only to hear about the bad, not the good."

As have been borne out by innumerable facts, success and victory form two main facets of our enterprises. When we first give our attention to achievement, it is nothing unilateral, but is completely in conformance with objective conditions.

How could we disregard the remarkable success and victory of the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's commune to merely pick flaws and detect shortcomings? Except the enemy class or rightist-inclined opportunists, no genuine revolutionist would do this or permit this to be perpetrated.

Is it then that we only look at the achievement, not the shortcomings, or, like what the rightist-inclined opportunists say "take only what you like, ignore what you dislike?"

In this connection, it is necessary to clarify what is the so-called "dislike." If it indicates such anti-Party and anti-socialist views as "dissolution of the people's communes," "abolition of political consideration first," "all work and all production to the individual family," "restoration of private ownership system," we naturally absolutely refuse to hear them.

Not only in sentiment we detest such ugly things, but we must resolutely counter-attack them by deed. To allow the free inundation of such ideas and activities is a criminal offense against the revolution and the people.

If the so-called "dislike" indicates shortcomings in our work, we will admit that while we need seriously surmount these shortcomings, yet compared to the achievements, our shortcomings are probably only a question of one finger among ten. This shortcoming is incidental to the process of forward march and victory, and it is basically different in character from anti-socialist views and activities. It is not an absolutely "bad thing," and so, the question of "take only what you like, ignore what you dislike" does not arise at all.

Moreover, it should be emphatically pointed out that even if the shortcoming is temporary, partial, and secondary, serious and responsible attitudes will be taken by our Party and government to resolve it. For instance, shortly after the birth of the people's commune, the Party took a series of measures energetically to quickly resolve certain shortcomings due to lack of experience in the initial stage of the commune's inauguration.

With the exception of proletarian political parties, is there any other political party in the world that can deal so objectively with its own shortcomings? When the rightist-inclined opportunists insinuate that we "only like to hear the good, not the bad," it is not because they are really interested in surmounting shortcomings. Their intention is to describe certain individual shortcomings as impossibly "bad," so as to intimidate us, to obstruct the advance of socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction, or even to cause them to retreat.

No matter how the rightist-inclined opportunists attack and vilify, our socialism, under the Party's leadership, is bound to score greater victories hereafter; the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's commune will also shine more gloriously. If the rightist-inclined opportunists should like what the mass like, dislike what the mass dislike, and gain a community of sentiment and interest with the mass, they must, first of all, thoroughly transform their own class standpoint and viewpoint by thoroughly breaking away from capitalist class ideology,

and resolutely adopt the standpoint of socialism. Otherwise, between them and the masses, it will be conceivable that each will follow his own likes and dislikes. But if they should find it so difficult to break from the capitalist system, then, before the wheel of history, let them cling to the rotten and stinking corpse to weep and cry.

## LIFTING THE COVER OFF THE "THEORY OF FREEDOM"

[The following is the full translation of an article written by Lin Yin appearing in the Tung-feng, No 23, Tientsin, 10 December 1959, pages 15-18.]

As great victories are being achieved by the general line of the party, the great leap forward, and the people's communes, and as the capitalistic economic system and the individualistic economic system approach the final stage of their elimination, a few of the rightist opportunists in the party have revealed their original face as bourgeois revolutionists.

Persevering in their bourgeois world outlook, they wage a desperate struggle for the moribund capitalism, and with bedraggled banners and dilapidated weapons taken from the bourgeoisie, they wantonly seek to distort and dispute the principles, directions, and policies of the party, and frantically attack the general line, the great leap forward, the system of people's communes, and the party's leadership.

Some of the rightist opportunists seem to cherish especially the slogan of bourgeois "freedom;" they go all out to preach "freedom," and to make "freedom" the banner with which to protect bourgeois interests and to resist socialism.

On the question of freedom, there is a fundamental difference between us and the rightist opportunists. This fundamental difference revolves the world outlook of the proletariat and the world outlook of the bourgeoisie. It is our view that there is only concrete freedom, but no abstract freedom, and that all freedom has class content.

What does "freedom" imply in a capitalist society? It implies that the bourgeois class has the "freedom" to exploit and oppress the proletariat and the toiling people, while the proletariat, apart from having the "freedom" to sell their own labor to the capitalists as a commodity, "are free to the extent that they have nothing of their own." (Marx)

Classical writers on Marxism-Leninism have frequently and forcefully exposed the nature and extreme deceptiveness of bourgeois "freedom." They have debunked the praises of bourgeois apologists, proclaimed the reactionary objectives behind this "freedom." Their purpose have taught the proletariat and the communists what view they should take concerning the question of freedom.

Marx says in his "Lectures on Free Trade:" "Don't use this abstract word of freedom to deceive yourself! Whose freedom is it? This isn't the freedom which each one has in his relations with others. This is the freedom of capital to squeeze the last drop of fat from the worker."

Lenin, in his article on "Economics and Politics during the Period of Proletarian Dictatorship," says: "To play around with such vague terms as freedom, equality, and democracy is, in fact, tantamount to blindly repeating the concepts which reflect merchandise production relations. To use such vague terms to resolve the concrete tasks of proletarian dictatorship is no different from reverting to the standpoint of bourgeois theory and principle. From the standpoint of the proletariat, the question can be posed only in this way: The exploitation of which class must be shaken off in order to gain freedom? Equality between which classes? Is this a democracy based on private ownership or a democracy based on the abolition of private ownership?"

In his writings Comrade Mao Tzu-tung also has repeatedly exposed the deceptive and reactionary nature of bourgeois "freedom," and criticized the fallacious views of certain persons who advocate the realization of "four great freedoms" in rural villages. He has further elucidated the question of internal freedom and democracy among the people under proletarian dictatorship.

Yet the rightist opportunists, abandoning the basic concept of Marxism-Leninism concerning the question of freedom, and having deleted the class content of freedom, everywhere and with much propaganda peddled the "freedom" of the bourgeoisie, with a view to sabotaging socialist revolutionary and reconstruction enterprises, and pave the way for capitalist restoration. They are especially fearful of the great social system of the people's communes, and so they concentrate their efforts to attack and smash it.

Knowing that the organization of collective economy forms the basic foundation of the system of people's communes, they try to distort the correct relationship within the commune between the great collective and the "small freedom." They advocate the restoration of individualistic productive patterns in order to destroy the collective economic development of the commune and to destroy the commune's partial ownership system and the basic ownership system of the production teams.

With a view to realizing their reactionary designs, the rightist opportunists spread the poisons of the bourgeois "theory of freedom." On the one hand, they insinuate that the people's communes "deny the freedom of the mass," and, on the other, in areas where they exercise leadership they surreptitiously launch reactionary activities for the restoration of capitalism.

The rightist opportunists clamor that "communes have denied the masses their freedom, thereby affecting the wealth and variety of their lives." Let us refute this fallacy with facts. The "i-ta erh-kung" ["greatness first, communality second"], socialist economic organization of the communes has brought the greatest benefit and greatest freedom to the broad [mass of the] peasants. In regard to the development of collective economy, the communes have made possible comprehensively developing agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary industry, and fishery; they have facilitated the massive launching [of new] as well as industry, extensive undertakings in large-scale capital construction for rural water conservancy. Through the support of the state as well by means of their own vitality, they have enabled the implementation of mechanization, electrification, conservancy, and chemical fertilization to be accelerated. These measures have resulted in the full utilization of talents, land, and resources and have effected an unprecedented strengthening in the ability to surmount all kinds of natural calamities. A rapid advance in the level of agricultural production technology has also been produced.

It is clear then that the broad [mass of] peasants, in their struggle to conquer nature and to create happy lives, have, by relying on the great collective strength of the people's communes, thoroughly broken the shackles of their past individualistic production pattern, and are acquiring



increasing motivation and ever greater freedom.

In regard to the distribution of consumer goods and collective welfare enterprises, the communes have enforced the partial supply system coordinated with wage system. They also sponsored communal messes, nurseries and other collective welfare enterprises catering to collective welfare, so that the broad [mass of] peasants have been able to free themselves from the perennial distress of the problem of eating. The women in particular have been liberated from their miscellaneous and burdensome household chores.

In his article on "A Great Innovation," Lenin had high praise for communal mess halls and other communal enterprises. He says: "Communal mess halls, nurseries, and kindergartens are embryonic specimens [referring to the embryo of communism--author]. These are unexaggerated, unostentatious, prosaic methods which actually make possible the women liberation of and the curtailment and [ultimate] elimination of their economic and social inequality with men."

China's rural communes have seen the implementation of the partial supply system, the launching of such collective welfare enterprises as communal mess halls, nurseries, etc., and the progressive socialization of home labor. This prosaic, routine, and lively embryonic communist development has opened up an unlimited prospect of happiness for the broad peasants, and has benefited greatly their current production and livelihood.

These measures enable them to pursue productive labor without let or hindrance; and they give richness and splendor to their material and cultural lives. They further indicate that in the not distant future, the communes will create the freedom for people to develop their talents completely and to undertake a wide range of activities.

The communes, in developing their collective economy, permit the families of commune members to retain for personal use a certain amount of land, livestock, and subsidiary industry, if collective labor is not thereby affected. They are given time to engage in these activities, and to participate in political and cultural studies, as

well as to arrange their own home affairs. These form the "small freedoms" in the great collective.

At present, it is still impossible for the communes to meet all the needs of their members in various economy is unaffected and the performance of collective labor is unhampered, to permit member families to engage in subsidiary industry of a limited scope will help both to enrich the livelihood of members and to consolidate the people's communes.

In dealing with the relations between the great collective and the "small freedoms," the communes must not forget that collective economy is the basic foundation, and that to forge a collective economy is the basic interest of the broad peasants. Thus, even in developing subsidiary industry, the principle that development of collective economy is the basis must be observed. The subsidiary industry to be undertaken by member families serves to complement collective economy, and so there must be a limit to this kind of productive activity. It must not be allowed to hamper collective labor; nor should it be permitted to affect and sabotage collective economy.

From the above mentioned facts, it can be seen how erroneous is the allegation that "the communes deny freedom to the mass, thereby affecting the wealth and variety of their lives." This allegation opposes collective interest to individual interests which are basically identical in the communes. The great collective of the commune both reflects and realizes the basic interests of the broad peasants. The reason why the latter desire to establish people's communes is that by increasing reliance on collective strength, they strive to create even more material wealth and to achieve even better material and cultural lives.

Relying on these great collectives and their labor, the broad peasants have reaped many benefits and freedoms, and gradually raised the level of their material and cultural life. Besides the collective and long-term interests of the communes, there are also individual and immediate interests; and under the great collective there are certain "small freedoms."

We may observe that under the correct leadership of the party, and in a spirit of reliance upon the tendencies, policies, and directives of the party, the people's communes have correctly handled these relations. That is, without affecting collective and permanent interests, as much regard as possible is given to the individual, current, and temporary interests of the members; and so long as the great collective is not affected, due regard is to be given to "small freedoms" of a limited scope.

The facts are entirely contrary to the insinuations of the rightist opportunists. The people's communes have brought the greatest benefits and the greatest freedom to the broad peasants, and their individual interests and a certain amount of their "small freedom" have also been served. This means that their freedom has been increased, not diminished.

Under the communes, the material and cultural life of the broad peasants has been continuously improved; it has not been "impoverished and monotonous," but it has become more and more enriched and splendid. Then, why do the rightist opportunists clamor that "people's communes deny freedom to the mass, thereby affecting the wealth and variety of their lives?"

This is because while the great social system of the communes has brought the greatest benefit and freedom to the broad peasants, it has also "denied," (to use the word of the rightist opportunists) the unbridled "freedom" of capitalism and has thus blocked the road to capitalist restoration.

The rightist opportunists detest the genuine freedom of the people and the masses. They seek and cherish bourgeois "freedom." What kind of "masses" do they represent when they censure the people's communes for "denying freedom?"

Naturally, they represent not the broad mass of peasants, the poor, lower and middle peasants who resolutely pursue the road of socialism, but rather a small segment of the rich middle peasants, who, with capitalist ideology, dream of a return to the old road of capitalism.

When they seek to "encourage the positiveness of the wealthy middle peasants," they do not resort the facts and

reasons to explain that socialism is the best road, in order to induce them to pursue the road of socialism, but they try to preach bourgeois "freedom" and individualistic production patterns, and thus encourage them to pursue the road of capitalism.

In their guise as bourgeois "defenders of freedom," they desperately demand "freedoms" for a segment of the retrogressive wealthy middle peasants: the "freedom" to hire long and short labor; the "freedom" to engage in speculative trade; the "freedom" to lend money at usurious interest rates; the "freedom" to wreck the collective economy of the communes; the "freedom" to develop without limit an individualistic economy; and the "freedom" to participate less in collective labor and to enjoy more the fruits of labor.

Before the great system of the people's commune, their kind of freedom, which seeks to develop capitalism, is fundamentally unrealizable. This is the basic underlying cause for the rightist opportunists' accusation that "the communes have denied mass freedom."

The rightist opportunists have spared no effort to peddle bourgeois "freedom" in rural areas, in order to pave the road for capitalist restoration. In order to attain this goal, they try to distort the political economy of Marxism-Leninism, and falsify the policy of economic development concerning the communes. Certain rightist opportunists advance the reactionary idea of so-called "proportionate development between collective economy and private economy," and the great collective and small freedoms fly side by side." They regard the areas where they exercise leadership as independent kingdoms, and by deceit and oppression try to apply their measures.

As explained before, collective economy is the basic foundation of the communes, and limited subsidiary industry production by members is only supplementary. Obviously, there is no relation between these two "proportionate development," nor can these two be paired equally, with the "small freedoms" be allowed to accompany the great collective in "flying side by side."

This reactionary advocacy completely violates the party's policy concerning the economic development of

people's communes. Its basic purpose is to give wings to a small body of anti-socialist wealthy middle peasants, to permit the "small freedoms" to fly high, to strangle the great collective, and to enable capitalist freedom to run wild.

Some of the rightist opportunists have openly enacted a series of reactionary measures to restore capitalism and frantically sabotage the communes. They seek wantonly to change the three-grade system of ownership of the capital goods in the communes. This they do by trying to oppose the development of commune-operated economy, to reduce the accumulations of communes, to change the basic ownership system by production teams into that by small production teams, and to allocate enormous capital goods and public assets to small teams and households.

They enforce the system of "guaranteeing labor and guaranteeing output to the households," thus reducing unified operations by production teams and small production teams to dispersed operations by independent workers, and collective labor to individual labor. Moreover, they permit members to reclaim wastelands on a reckless scale, and to expand their private economy.

Using the pretext of "special local conditions" and "respect for the living habits of the masses," and in a pretended realization of the principle of "distribution in accordance with labor," they give up the supply system, curtail public mess halls, and reduce collective welfare enterprises, so that these embryos of communism are be destroyed.

They oppose the party's leadership in political ideology; they oppose the infusion of socialist concepts into the broad peasants; and they oppose the centralized leadership and unified arrangements of the people's communes. They clamor that "the control of the communes by the party has prevented the positiveness of control by grade," in order to create capitalistic anarchy in rural villages.

By perpetrating these criminal activities, the rightist opportunists seek to basically sabotage and ruin the system of people's communes, strangle all new enterprises in rural villages, destroy the revolutionary spirit of the broad rural cadres, poor peasants, and lower and middle

peasants, in order to forge a way for the restoration of capitalism.

Consequently, it behooves us to carry out intensively the struggle of two roads and the movement of socialist education in rural villages, in order to guide the broad peasants in the resolute pursuit of the road of socialism. We are firmly convinced that under the party's correct leadership, the broad peasants, especially the poor peasants, and lower and middle peasants who have tasted the bitterness of the private ownership system, who have been steeled by a long revolutionary struggle, and who have a high degree of awareness and organization, have already linked their fate closely with the people's communes, and that no force will be able to alienate them from the road of socialism.

Our party is now closely aligning itself with the broad peasants; it is especially relying on the strength of the poor peasants, and lower and middle peasants to ceaselessly consolidate the great system of the people's communes, and to continue to the end of the two-road struggle. It will be able to block the road of capitalist restoration. At no time will the rightist opportunists realize their design of restoring capitalism.

SMASH THE ATTACKS OF RIGHTIST  
OPPORTUNISTS ON BASIC LEVEL  
CADRES OF RURAL VILLAGES

[The following is the full translation of an article by Chao Pu appearing in the Tung-feng, No 23, Tientsin, 10 December 1959, pages 19-21.]

Basic level cadres constitute the bridge by which the party aligns itself with the broad masses of the people; they are the organizers and pillars of the party who accomplish the various tasks on the first front. Without the positive activities of the broad basic level cadres among the masses under the leadership of the party, it would be impossible to realize party leadership and to consummate the various tasks.

Concurrently with their opposition to the general line of the party, the great leap forward, and the people's communes, the rightist opportunists have maliciously slandered the broad basic level cadres of rural villages. They allege that these cadres are "as black as paint," that "they perform their tasks merely to cater to the demands of their superior echelons, regardless of practical conditions and the views of the masses," that "they concern themselves only with the accomplishment of tasks, without considering the methods of working," and thus create tension in the relations between cadres and mass.

Very obviously, these smears and attacks by the rightist opportunists are calculated to destroy the revolutionary zeal of the broad basic level cadres. They pour cold water on these cadres in order to damage the close solidarity between cadres and the masses. They oppose the revolutionary mass movement so that the party's general line, direction, and policy cannot be implemented, and so that the great leap forward cannot continue. Consequently, it is necessary to thoroughly expose and criticize the intrigues of the rightist opportunists, and to resolutely counter-attack them.



Under the party's leadership, the province of Hopeh has already fostered and built up a huge, strong corps of rural basic level cadres. The political history of this corps is excellent. An overwhelming majority of its members are from poor peasant families, and they have emerged as positive elements from various mass movements in the past.

The fact that they have become the pillars of the broad masses and are supported and loved by them is not only because they and the broad peasant masses have both undergone the horrible oppressions of the exploiting class in the old society, and therefore share a strong and distinctive class sentiment. It is also because under the sustained fostering and education of the party, they have both undergone severe struggles and have been tried in diverse political movements.

They are endowed with a firm proletarian view and the working style of communism. Loyal to the party, they will forever observe the party's injunctions. Whether in the stage of democratic revolution or during socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction, they consistently stand at the forefront of the struggle. In both class struggle and production struggle, they share the hardships and happiness of the masses; they protect the interests of the party and the masses; and they rally the broad masses about them to forge ahead in the direction set by the party.

In the long course of revolution, many of them have been combat heroes on the battlefields. Now, they have become positive elements in productive reconstruction. Many of them have been unbending and undaunted warriors before their adversaries. Now, they are capable persons who fear no difficulties, who are imaginative and hard working, and who are adept at reform as well as creation. Under the party's correct leadership, the broad rural basic level cadres have consummated the various political tasks entrusted to them by the party during various historical stages.

Similarly, they have, during 1958, correctly and thoroughly implemented the general line for "stimulating the spirit of endeavor, striving for progress, and building socialism rapidly, satisfactorily, and economically." As a result, the high tide of the great leap forward in pro-

duction surges in the broad rural villages, hastening the realization of communalization, and bringing about a striking change in the face of rural villages in Hopeh province.

It will be seen that our great achievement on the various fronts is due to thorough implementation of the party's general line. It is also due to the assiduous efforts of the broad basic level cadres who, under the party's leadership, align themselves with and lead the masses to work arduously and intelligently day and night. Otherwise, it will be impossible to achieve such remarkable results. This is an iron fact which no rightist opportunists can alter or deny by their smears and attacks.

The broad basic level cadres are the party's loyal enforcers of the party's mass line. They have consistently cemented together the party's brilliant directives with the wisdom of the masses so that the policy of the party may bloom and bear fruit in the broad rural villages. They are adept in patiently and assiduously explaining and interpreting the party line, direction, and policy in order to translate them into practical action among the broad masses. They are also adept in consulting with the masses and in focusing mass wisdom. They are accustomed to using the influence of their own exemplary conduct to impel the broad masses to march together.

The working method of the party's mass line has been gradually summed up, developed, perfected, and enriched by the party during the long period of the party's pragmatism among the broad cadres. The party's mass line working method has demonstrated greater prowess in the all-out great leap forward in 1958, and moreover, further development has been achieved in this pragmatism.

For instance, such activities as the planting of experimental fields by cadres, their going to the countryside to become members of communes, the development "contending and blossoming" debates, the organizing of meetings for inspection, appraisal, and comparison, arranging visits by advisors in order to attract positive elements and labor models to take part in leadership, form effective measures and working methods which the broad basic level cadres employ to implement comprehensively and thoroughly the party's mass movements.

It is thanks to the all-out and thorough implementation of the working methods of the party's mass line that it has become possible to develop the mass movement to such a scope, to bolster the spirit of endeavor of the masses to such a high plane, and to accomplish so many tasks with efficiency and speed. It is basically impossible to develop such a gigantic and mammoth mass movement without these working methods.

It has been a fine tradition of the broad cadres to give exemplary response to the appeals of the party, to endure their hardships before they enjoy, and to share the common fate with the masses. This has been so during the period of revolutionary wars; this is also true during the stage of socialist revolution and reconstruction.

The overwhelming majority of our basic level cadres have worked arduously without counting on reward. They try to satisfy the needs of their own livelihood through their participation in production; and they deem this a commonplace system by which to align themselves with the masses and to promote production.

On the various production fronts, they consistently fight shoulder to shoulder with the broad masses, often depriving themselves of their sleep and rest, eating and sleeping by the side of their furnaces, scaling mountains and crossing rivers, stemming the breaches of dykes. They work before they eat; and while they allow members of communes to rest, they themselves will insist on laboring. When commune members are ill, they find time to get doctors for them, watch at their sick beds, and prepare medicines for them.

Often, the broad masses have been moved to tears by the all-pervading concern and care of the basic level cadres. They often say: "Under Chairman Mao's leadership, there are dear ones everywhere, and the cadres are dearer than parents and brothers." Can the rightist opportunists ever deny this lofty communist style which has been realized by the basic level cadres personally?!

It has been clearly shown by facts that between our basic level cadres and the masses there is a close solidarity, as close as the hand is to the foot, and as dear as members of the same family. It is then not surprising

that under these conditions, the rightist opportunists, from the standpoint of their wayward bourgeois sentiment, should feel disheartened, and should look upon the positive elements of the masses and the basic level cadres with animosity.

We members of the communist party have never tried to conceal our deviations and mistakes. In the interest of revolution, we have always welcome criticism of these deviations and mistakes from our comrades and the masses. In point of fact, the masses, assuming the attitude of the masters, have also criticized our cadres benevolently and realistically.

The actual conditions of 1958 show that the work achievements of the broad basic level cadres are tremendous, and their progress is striking. Nevertheless, they cannot be perfect. Among them certain temporary and individual deviations have cropped up. For instance, some concrete measures may be improper; some working methods may be inadequate. these cannot be "as black as paint" as alleged by the rightist opportunists.

On the contrary, this is merely the question of one finger in relation to the other nine fingers, and perhaps you will not even find this single finger. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that the deviations of certain basic level cadres stem from enterprises in which there have been no precedents, and these deviations occur when they are groping for experience, especially in the case of certain overwhelming mass movements, and are therefore unavoidable.

Moreover, these deviations and mistakes will be rectified in time, when they are discovered by the party with the assistance of the masses. In undertaking an overwhelming revolutionary enterprise, and in fervently launching a mass movement, it seems impossible to ask the basic level cadres to consummate their work satisfactorily, and at the same time, not to make any absolutely no "wrong steps." To do so is to hamper their action and to do away with the revolutionary movement. Is not this also very clear?

It is now clear that the difference between us and the rightist opportunists is a difference of stand; it is

the struggle between the proletarian outlook on the world and the bourgeois outlook on the world.

The question of dealing with the mass movement and with positive elements emerging from this movement has been one of the basic disputes between the Marxists and anti-Marxists. As the socialist revolution is being further developed, and as the roots of the bourgeois private ownership system are being finally eradicated, it is by no means accidental that the rightist opportunists who represent bourgeois interests, should oppose the correct leadership of the party, oppose mass movements, pour cold water on the broad cadres on the basic level in order to dampen their spirit, relax their effort, and shake their resolution for resolutely following the communist party.

This is a reflection of the struggle between the proletarian class and the bourgeois class under the new exigencies of the revolution. In order to defend the party's general line and the revolutionary mass movement, we must thoroughly smash the attacks of the rightist opportunists and push this intensive class struggle to its end.

## A MIRROR VIEW OF THE "ALMOST" THEORY

[The following is the full translation of an article prepared by Ch'i Tso-wen appearing in the Chieh-fang, No 23, a semi-monthly published by the Shanghai Jen-min Ch'u-pan She, Shanghai, 5 December 1959, pages 19-21.]

There is now an ideological condition which deserves attention, namely, the "almost" theory. "The rectification campaign is almost consummated!" "The anti-rightist struggle is almost completed!" "The stimulation of the spirit of endeavor is almost sufficient!" "The grasp of work is almost enough!"

Such views are bound to harm our spirit of struggle, depress the mass spirit of endeavor, affect the entire tasks of the leap forward as well as the achievement and over-quota achievement of thoroughgoing victory. There is need for us to get a mirror view of the "almost" theory in order to expose its real nature.

Whatever names they may use, it will be seen that those who speak in terms of the "almost" theory really refer to these two aspects: that the struggle to reform the objective world is "almost" complete; and that the struggle to reform the subjective world is also "almost" complete.

Indeed, in every concrete movement and work, there is a beginning and an end; there is the time of near completion and basic completion. While there must be time for work and time for play in the arrangement of work schedule, in the development of class struggle, there are also crests and ebbs. However, the above-mentioned "almost" theory does not refer to a work-estimate, but it reflects one of their sentiments. The idea concealed behind the "almost" theory is that we have undertaken almost all the movements, now it is time to relax; there is no need to work so energetically.

Those who have the class sense of small may smell that this is not the proper odor. It is in itself a rightist ideology. It betrays the psychology of laxity and aversion

toward the great anti-rightist mass movement and the mass movement for the stimulation of the spirit of endeavor.

Just as the mass movement is being resoundingly unfolded, just as the communist ideology is fiercely smashing all kinds of bourgeois ideology in this struggle, and just as the various fronts of struggle are developing phenomenally, there are people who hope that the movement is "almost" finished. What kind of voice is this after all?

The anti-rightist struggle is a violent class struggle. Rightist ideology constitutes origin "that can be traced far and wide, and linger for a long time without perishing."

When we say this is a "stubborn disease," it is because it is "stubborn" in two aspects. First, this disease cannot be completely cured, and so, the struggle is a protracted one. Secondly, this disease is relapsing, and with the least relaxation, it will attack again. So, the struggle is also a repetitious one.

So long as there still exist the influences of bourgeois ideology, it is bound to be reflected in various shapes and manners in the party. Consequently, the thorough smashing of the attack of rightist opportunists and the routing of anti-party and anti-socialist views does not mean that the struggle is concluded.

The class struggle is a protracted struggle. The ideological and political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will be continued for decades until the effects of bourgeois ideology are completely destroyed.

In the case of the individual, although his rightist ideology may have been defeated during a certain struggle, yet under different circumstances and in a new climate, his old ailment may recur, if he has failed to completely cut off his rightist roots, and if his bourgeois world outlook has persisted. The effects of the hidden germs of disease may prove to be even more harmful than before.

The exponents of the "almost" theory are obvious of these facts. When they are deceived by such a theory, they are



numbered by the success of the anti-rightist struggle, and relax their vigilance against bourgeois ideology. When the bourgeois ideology raises its head on another question and under a different banner, they are no longer able to discern it.

Take the present movement for example. The old roots of rightist activities and rightist ideology are being more intensively unraveled; the "middle stream" ideology is being criticized universally; the problems that have been exposed are being tackled seriously. After massive destruction, there will be massive reconstruction. Socialist education will be launched extensively; the ideology of Mao Tse-tung will be studied intensively. What ground is there for the exponents of the "almost" theory to say that the movement is "almost" finished?

There is no end to the struggle for the reform of the objective world; there is also no end to the struggle for the reform of the subjective world. Chairman Mao, in his "On Pragmatism," says: "The struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to reform the world comprises the following tasks: reform the objective world, also reform of their own subjective world--reform their own ability of cognition, reform the relations between the subjective world and the objective world." Consequently, to conscientiously reform our own subjective world forms one of the revolutionary tasks of the communists.

Geared to the ceaseless development and changes of the objective world, it behooves us to conscientiously revamp our ideology and working style in accordance with the demands of new revolutionary tasks, and to ceaselessly overcome ideologies that conflict with communist ideology as well as all inclinations which separate us from the mass.

This self-consciousness forms a special feature of the communist. It is also one that distinguishes from the bourgeois revolutionists. It shows that the communists are thoroughly revolutionary; they are the vanguard of the proletariat; they are the permanent representatives of the revolutionary class and the progressive strength of society and they ever stand ahead of their epoch.

The exploitative class is opposed to reform. Its reform "must first pass through the stage of compulsion,

before it can enter the stage of self-consciousness." Some of our comrades lack the self-consciousness for self reform because they have been influenced or limited by the bourgeois world outlook. An extreme minority of our comrades wishes to evade this reform. This shows that bourgeois ideology is corroding their revolutionary volition.

Any revolutionists who refuse to reform the subjective world and insist on adopting the bourgeois stand will undoubtedly degenerate into representatives of the wayward elements who resist the tide of revolution among the rank and file of revolutionists. When he says it is "too tense," or "pressure is too hard," he is merely echoing the voice of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie who dread reform.

There is no paradise beyond this revolving world. When the class struggle is resolved, there will exist forever the struggle between the progressive and the wayward. Even 10,000 years from now, there will still be social struggle; there will be large-letter newspapers; there will be criticism and self-criticism. If you wish to know when the revolution will be "almost" finished, you may just as well take a nap to indulge in a spell of fantasy.

The exponents of the "almost" theory are prone to become the exponents of the "tension" theory when their "almost" wish is not gratified. "Why should we still undertake movement? Why should we still study? Why should we still criticize? Why should we still leap forward? This is too tense!"

What they desire so that there can be "no tension" is to suspend the revolution, suspend the struggle, suspend the movement, suspend the leap forward. Even though everything is "almost," nevertheless, the revolution, struggle, movement, and leap forward will never stop. Anyone who, instead of following the forward march, wishes to resist it, is bound to be engulfed and drowned by the angry waves. Unless they see this danger and renounce their rotten ideology, the exponents of the "almost" theory will eventually be smashed by the revolutionary tidal wave.

In work of all kinds, it transpires that where the "almost" theory has the upper hand, there the [danger from] rightist ideology is often most serious. The sense

of pride and self-satisfaction make them blind to problems in their work. The communists will never hypnotize themselves with the "almost" theory to relax their spirit of endeavor.

First, no matter how much we have achieved in our work, we still want to strive for greater achievement. This is what we call "striving for the upper stream," what we call "we must go a further step after scaling a 100-foot pole," and there will never be an "almost" time. The overwhelming majority of our comrades do things in this way.

Secondly, the prescribing of task is not tantamount to its accomplishment. If instead of taking the necessary measures to insure the consummation of task and instead of opportunely resolving the new problems and new contradictions which are bound to arise in the process of tackling the task one should, consider the work "almost" done after the task is presented, he will then be defaulting on his duty as a communist.

A few of the "almost" comrades have contracted the habit of empty talk. They neglect the first principle of political considerations in their work. They busy themselves with enacting plans, with statistics, meetings, arrangements, etc., with the view that when these are done, their task will be "almost" finished. They are ignorant of the ideological condition of the masses, their demands, their problems and difficulties; or else their knowledge is only superficial. Nevertheless, these problems are which the leaders must understand.

The mass cannot be deprived of ideology; they cannot be without problems; nor can there be no problems in work. If you comprehend these problems, naturally, you will not say something like "almost". This shows that when comrades talk vainly about "almost," they betray the fact that their tendency to alienate themselves from the masses has not yet been thoroughly rectified. The result is that they cannot have a firm grasp on the tasks which insure the consummation of full mobilization of the masses to fulfill and overfulfill targets and to achieve the further intensification of technological revolution.

Under the influence of this ideology, the work of certain units has begun with ambitious plans, but ended miserably;

they had a beginning but no end, Is this the working style of proletarian ideology? Can this be called "stimulating the spirit of endeavor?" Can we consider this the "almost" or near completion of the campaign to oppose rightist ideology?

All our comrades should continue to bolster the spirit of endeavor and thoroughly oppose the rightists. They should grasp their work firmly, comprehensively, intensively, meticulously, and thoroughly. They must not relax a single step, and as soon as they have achieved one step, they should seek for the second. Not only should they grasp the target of advanced, over-quota, and all-out fulfillment of this year's tasks, but they should also make ample preparations for next year's tasks. It is only thus that we will be able, within the remaining 20 odd days in this year [1959], to garner the fruits of the leap forward for which we have exerted our efforts, and to firmly insure that we can commence next year's tasks auspiciously.

There are three types of comrades who indulge in the "almost" theory: those whose stand is not firm enough and who dread the intensification of struggle; those who lack the spirit of endeavor and want to relax; and those who are arrogant and conceited. Some of them have attitudinal problems while others have been influenced by the ideology of deviant groups in society.

However, whatever circumstances, this "almost" ideology must be thoroughly curbed. It is an ideological chain which shackles our hands and feet; after freeing ourselves from this chain, we will be able to march forward briskly.

From a class standpoint, the "almost" theory is by no means a proletarian ideology; it reflects the aspirations of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is a wayward class. They talk about "almost" because they fancy that the socialist revolution will stop at a certain time, and that socialist reconstruction cannot be developed speedily, with a view to deferring the elimination of the exploiters.

The "almost" theory is the weapon they use to paralyze the proletariat; it is the instrument which the bourgeoisie uses in its class struggle. The international imperialists

are also adept in employing the "almost" theory paralyze the people of the world. Have not the American imperialists, who are the leading war mongers, recently broached talks of "peace" in order to deceive the people, and cause them to believe that the dangers of war have almost been eliminated, so that in this smoke screen of "peace," they [the Americans] can further expand their armaments and continue to bloodily suppress the struggle for independence by the peoples of the world?

They also want to use "almost" to hoodwink us, to defend the criminal colonial system and war policy. Both internationally and domestically, the bourgeoisie has been dealt a cruel defeat in the frontal class struggle. And when it is being defeated continually, it will use the sweet expression of "almost" to corrode the morale of the proletariat and the revolutionary people, and to maintain their own ground.

The wavering nature of the petty bourgeoisie is also conducive to the "almost" ideology. They are fearful of a thoroughgoing revolution, because such a revolution will destroy the entire private ownership system and all the old ideologies stemming from this system, including the petty bourgeoisie itself. Thus, it is the hope of the petty bourgeoisie that revolution will apply only to others; that it will be enforced to a limited extent; and that they can retain a small world of their own for capitalist ideologies and activities.

Thus, whenever the revolution is being intensified, they clamor: "it is almost completed! it may be stopped!" The "almost" theory becomes their weapon of self-defense against socialist revolution.

From the standpoint of epistemology, the "almost" theory is a metaphysical way of looking at things: it looks at the present state, not at the development; it looks at the surface, not the substance; it wants stagnation, not revolution. It conflicts completely with dialectical materialism.

The "almost" ideology in the rank and file of revolutionists is a corroding agent. Especially now that the masses have arisen, the "almost" theory is a pail of cold

water which coals and dampens the positiveness of the masses. In order to push the anti-rightist movement intensively and thoroughly, it is necessary to expose the rightist nature of the "almost" theory so completely that it becomes impossible to hide itself.

The proletariat will never be deceived by the "almost" theory. Chairman Mao has said: "The final aim of all communists is to strive for the final achievement of socialist society and communist society." The word "strive" means that we will fully develop our initiative, and strive with our greatest effort. In the development of revolution, the proletariat will never stop at a particular time, thus ceasing to revolt and ceasing to march ahead.

In the meantime, when the task of a certain stage is being consummated, we will look forward to the next step, to create the prerequisites and to prepare the conditions for the next stage. While we are consummating the concrete tasks of each stage, we will persevere to the end; we will not be conceited in the midst of our victory; we will not relax, in order to prevent the greater victory which we are sure to win from slipping away.

It is the nature of the working class to oppose laxity in work, and to concentrate its attention till the last minute. We must greatly forge this working class nature. It is also the special characteristic of the communists to grasp the present and to face the future realistically. We must persevere in upholding this communist characteristic.

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<sup>1</sup>"Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol. 2, page 622.

## HAS THE CLASS STRUGGLE CEASED?

[The following is the full translation of an article written by Wu T'ieh-ming appearing in the Li-lun Hsueh-hsi, Number 12, a monthly published by the Liao-ning Jen-min Ch'u-pan She, Mukden, 1 December 1959, pages 8-12.]

### (1)

To every communist party member, the anti-rightist struggle that has been unfolded in accordance with the spirit of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Eighth Party Congress is a most vivid and most profound Marxist-Leninist education and class education.

In this rectification movement, each communist party member should stand firmly on his class viewpoint, struggle against rightist opportunism, demarcate ideological boundaries, recognize the iniquities of opportunism, expose rightist ideology, assault rightist ideas, defend the party's general line, uphold its solidarity, and protect socialist reconstruction enterprises. He should also absorb a profitable lesson from this anti-rightist struggle in order to reform his own world outlook, to consolidate his proletarian stand, and strengthen his party character.

That rightist opportunism should commit the deviation of opposition to party and socialism is not accidental, but has an ideological as well as social origin. Why do they fear and hate so deeply the revolutionary movement of the masses? Why are they so tolerant of and sympathetic toward the frantic attack of the bourgeoisie? Why the counterrevolutionaries, rightists, and anti-party elements so chummy and so friendly with each other, why do they treat the party with such apathy and disloyalty?

Why do they resist the party's leadership in politics so persistently? Completely unconcerned with the interests of the party and the masses, why are they so solicitous of their own prestige and reputation? Why is it that while they react so sensitively to the partial, temporary,



and rectified deviations in the revolutionary enterprises, they appear deaf and blind to the great achievements of the revolution?

Basically, this has been caused by their deep-rooted bourgeois class stand and ideology. Because their bourgeois world outlook has not been well reformed, or has not been reformed at all, they must inevitably commit these deviations.

The ideology of rightist opportunism reflects the bourgeois anti-socialist ideas in the party. Actually, the rightist opportunist ideology is itself bourgeois ideology. The phenomenon of rightist opportunist ideology and our resolute struggle against it are both inevitable; this is a necessary product of the class struggle during the stage of transition. This is the continuation of the desperate struggle during the past decade between bourgeoisie and proletariat in the process of socialist revolution.

It is evident from the behavior of a small segment of rightist opportunists who commit grave rightist deviations that one of the main features of the stubborn rightist disease is the reactionary "theory of extinction of class struggle." They deem that "the class struggle has largely been concluded in China."

They also allege that "since drastic changes have occurred in the political stands and views of bourgeois intellectuals, there is no longer any need for reform." They say that "in state enterprises, there is no class struggle," and "after collectivization and communalization, everyone is a member, and all are equal," etc.

Although some of them have not yet openly raised the reactionary banner of "extinction of class struggle" theory, they nevertheless do things from a reactionary super-class view point. Such a view point can be expressed in diverse manners. For instance, in dealing with diverse counterrevolutionaries, they refuse to see in them an anti-people, anti-revolutionary, and anti-socialist class quality. Rather, from their view point, one such counterrevolutionary is only an "unsuccessful homicide," another counterrevolutionary is only "backward in ideology."

When it comes to employment questions, they insist that "talent should be the criterion, not politics. Thus, to them, what matters is whether the person has culture or not, techniques or not, ability or not, but they never question the man's class or political stand. They absolutely refuse to think in terms of class analysis.

This reactionary super-class view is reflected in certain comrades who oppose the leadership of politics. According to them, the function of industry is to make machines and daily [consumption] articles; the function of education is to read, teach, and learn; and the function of commerce is buying and selling. They have never considered the concrete business in which they are engaged as a part of the great communist enterprise of the working class.

In other comrades, this reactionary super-class view is reflected in their misinterpretation of the mass line and mass views. In their eyes, the masses consist only of "those whom I know or whom I do not know; those I know well, and those who are remote from me." They will not classify the mass into exploiters and laborers, and among the latter, they will not divide them into working class and other small private owners.

Thus, in their views, the mass reflection is the reflection of human nature, there being fundamentally no class cognition or class stand. They deem that whatever is from their relatives and good friends is true, and they believe it implicitly without analyzing. Yet they are sceptical toward the policy of the party.

(2)

In order to thoroughly expose the "theory of the extinction of class struggle" and the reactionary substances of all super-class views, it is necessary to analyze the historical conditions of class struggle since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The establishment of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949 signifies the victory of China's democratic revolution on a nationwide scope. In the first few years after

the founding of the Republic, our party has, with a view to thoroughly consummating the tasks of the stage of democratic revolution and eradicating the vestigial influences of the three great enemies, adopted a firm class policy in dealing with both foreign and domestic enemies.

Utilizing the state power of proletarian dictatorship and the strength of the broad people and masses, our party has confiscated bureaucratic capital, swept away the vestigial influences of the imperialist reactionaries in China, mobilized the broad peasants to launch a large and turbulent revolutionary struggle, suppressed the feudal land system, and undertaken the resist-America aid-Korea protect-home and defend-motherland struggle.

Even during the entire period of rehabilitation of the national economy, we have not ceased the class struggle because of the revival of the reactionary Kuomintang regime. On the contrary, we have thoroughly consummated the tasks left over from the stage of democratic revolution, smashed the armed intervention of American imperialism, and pushed the rehabilitation of national economy concurrent with our pursuit of a large and turbulent class struggle of a drastic nature.

The inauguration of the Chinese People's Republic also signifies the great change of China's revolution from democratic revolution to socialist revolution. This great revolutionary change has been made possible by the preparations laid in the process of the entire democratic revolution.

As far back as March 1949 on the eve of the national victory, the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Seventh Party Congress had organized the great change from democratic revolution to socialist revolution.

The resolution of the said plenum wisely prescribed the entire outline of the great change from democratic revolution to socialist revolution. It profoundly and comprehensively analyzed the relations of various economic components and the new situation in terms of the proportions of class strength during the transitional period.

It pointed out correctly that following the national victory of the Chinese revolution, the principal contradiction internally would be the contradiction between the

proletariat and the bourgeoisie, while regulation and anti-regulation would be the main pattern of this class struggle.

The correctness of this directive has been completely proven by the historic pragmatism of the entire period of economic rehabilitation from 1949 to 1952. During this period, the avaricious bourgeoisie, in keeping with the development of capitalist economy and with a view to satisfying their sinister greed, tried their utmost to resist state regulation and mobilized a frantic attack on the working class.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the "three-anti" and "five-anti" movements were unfolded by the entire party and the broad mass of workers and staff. In offices and schools, the ideological remolding movement for bourgeois intellectuals was launched to enable them to distinguish between friends and enemies.

Thus, economically, the bourgeois attack was routed, and politically, the bourgeoisie became odious when their sinister face was exposed before the people. These movements shattered and isolated the delinquent elements among the bourgeoisie, while the law-abiding medium and small capitalists were won over. Capitalist economy was absorbed into the orbit of national economy, thus creating favorable conditions for the development of socialist economy.

Thus, it transpires that following the victory of democratic revolution, class struggle has not been extinguished, though the old class contradiction, namely, the conflict between the people of the nation and the three great enemies, was resolved. On the other hand, the new class contradiction, namely, the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the two-road conflict between capitalism and socialism has become more and more acute.

At the end of 1952, the Central Committee of the party and Chairman Mao enacted the general line for the simultaneous launching of socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction during the period of transition, namely, the general line of "i-hua san-kai" [one transformation and three reforms], and called on the people to make an all-out attack on capitalism.

The party's general line has received the enthusiastic support of the entire workers, poor and tenant peasants, and lower middle peasants. They consummated the first five-year plan in four years' time, thus laying the initial foundation for China's socialist industrialization. Again, after three years, they completed China's agricultural co-operativization in the winter of 1955.

What about the bourgeoisie? Although they never liked the general line and looked back nostalgically to the pre-three-anti and five-anti "golden era," yet due to the correct policy of the party--the policy of redemption--and under various exigencies, they accepted socialist transformation and implemented the public-private joint operation of all enterprises.

By realizing the cooperativization of agriculture and handicraft industry in China and by realizing the overall public-private joint operation of private capitalist industry and commerce, the socialist revolution on China's economic front (in ownership system) has been basically consummated. Also, capitalist exploitation has basically been eliminated, and the multiple economic components during the period of transition have been transformed into a monolithic socialist economy.

This shows that from 1952 to 1956, the class struggle in China has not been extinguished. On the contrary, these were the years of decisive importance in the desperate struggle between China's working class and bourgeoisie, and between socialism and capitalism. In this struggle, our policy was to struggle against and simultaneously to align with the bourgeoisie, so that through peaceful transformation, capitalist exploitation could be extinguished. Although such a policy could not but ameliorate the pattern of desperate struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, nevertheless, it was the firm class policy of the proletariat based on the class struggle theories of Marxism-Leninism.

The entire history of China's socialist transformation proves that socialist transformation is a more extensive and intensive class struggle. This transformation has been accomplished during the full development of class struggle, and this struggle has not yet been extinguished.

Will class struggle cease after a decisive victory has been achieved on the economic front (in ownership system) of the socialist revolution? No, it will not cease.

In accordance with the objective law of development in class struggle, there have developed among bourgeois intellectuals the clear divisions of left, middle, and right.

The leftists have, under the education of the party, changed their original bourgeois stand; they support the party; they support socialism. However, in the beginning, they form only a minority, and their ranks can only be expanded during the long process of class struggle.

The rightists are bourgeois reactionaries. They are actually agents of landlords, rich peasants, bureaucratic capitalists, the remnants of Kuomintang reactionaries, and imperialism. They are not content with the extinction of their own class, but want to turn back the historic wheel of China which now heads toward socialism. They try to match strength with the proletariat, and they dream of the restoration of capitalism.

The middle-of-the-road elements form the great majority. They waver between the left and the right; they are shaky toward socialism, and conflict with it at times. They may not be sincerely submissive to proletarian leadership, and under certain circumstances, they may follow the rightists. It is only after the working class has further demonstrated its strength and after a protracted class struggle that they will be won away from the influence of the rightists.

The rightists among the bourgeoisie, taking advantage of our party's rectification movement and readjustment of the internal relations of the people from the winter of 1956 through the summer of 1957, have unleashed a frantic attack on our party and socialist enterprises, with a view to destroying the socialist edifice of the party and the working class. Can you say that class struggle has been extinguished?

From the frantic attack of the bourgeois rightists in 1957, we can see that land reform alone cannot extinguish landlords and rich peasants. Nor is it possible to extinguish the bourgeoisie by socialist transformation in-

volving the ownership system of the means of production. The participation between cooperatives and wealthy middle peasants does not imply that the latter have abandoned the road of capitalism.

Even after the consummation of the socialist revolution in its economic aspects (ownership), it will still be impossible for the bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals, and the wealthy middle peasants, to change their political ideology, customs, and other influences, all at once.

In the meantime, the ideology of the bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie will continue to have extensive influence on a segment of the laboring people. Consequently, after the socialist revolution has been accomplished economically, it is necessary to further and more intensively unfold the class struggle on the political and ideological front, in order to consolidate socialism.

Will class struggle be extinguished after a decisive victory has been achieved on the political and ideological front in the socialist revolution? No, it will not be extinct. This is because China's capitalists are still drawing fixed interest [from enterprises surrendered to the state] and the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie still persists.

Even after rural communalization, there will still be self-retained land, and transactions at market fairs. Even if the bourgeoisie as an economic class is completely extinguished, it will still be impossible to surmount, within a short time, the reactionary world outlook and political ideology of the bourgeois class, especially its habits and influences. A long time will be needed to thoroughly extinguish the bourgeoisie politically and ideologically. It is necessary to purge the reactionary ideology stemming from the old society which prevails and lingers in the minds of a large segment of the people.

The numerous attacks on the great leap forward of 1958, communalization, and the general line, such as, for example: "everything is ruined," "there is more loss than gain in the people's iron and steel-making pursuits," "overall tension in the market," "the commune is not as good as the cooperative, the cooperative is not as good as independent working," etc., are reflections of reactionary ideology on the part of bourgeoisie



and upper petty bourgeoisie. They imply the extensive and intensive class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, socialism and capitalism on the political ideological front. This struggle is bound to continue on and to be waged for a long time.

(3)

After studying the actual conditions of class struggle in China during the period of transition in the last decade, we may reach the following conclusions:

(1) Following the change from democratic revolution to socialist revolution and following the gradual intensification and development of socialist revolution, the concrete content and pattern of class struggle have also changed. However, the class struggle of the transitional period has not ceased for a single moment.

It is a sharp class struggle to consummate thoroughly the democratic revolution. The great socialist revolution is both an extensive and intensive class struggle. Socialist reconstruction is also a serious class struggle.

The class struggle in China during the transitional period does not rise perpendicularly to become more and more acute; nor does it drop perpendicularly to extinction. Rather, it rises and falls in a continuous wave-like motion,

(2) After the inauguration of the Chinese People's Republic, the old class contradictions have been basically resolved, while contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie have now become the main contradictions.

However, during the period of rehabilitation of China's national economy, class struggle has been carried out principally by the massive and turbulent overthrow of the three great enemies and their vestigial influences. Following the rehabilitation of national economy, the class conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has become further accentuated. It has developed into an overt conflict on a stupendous scale. Through the "three-anti" and "five-anti" movements and up to the beginning

of 1956, we have basically consummated our socialist revolution on the economic front.

Now, after the consummation of socialist revolution on the economic front, the desperate struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat will largely be waged on the ideological front.

According to some rightist opportunists: "There is no longer any class struggle in state enterprises," and "everyone being a member of people's communes, class has vanished." Bourgeois elements say: "We have been transformed, and so we are the same as the working class." Comrades who are seriously infected with rightist sentiments but are politically naive also endorse their view, and in actual work, they have adopted the "super-class" viewpoint.

Is it true that the majority of people in factories, shops, offices, schools, and rural villages have been genuinely transformed? Have the bourgeois elements really become laborers with socialist awareness? Have the wealthy middle peasants thoroughly abandoned the road of capitalism? Have the ideological effects of bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie been completely eliminated from the minds of the laboring people and the working mass?

No, by no means so. Be it in factories, shops, offices, schools, or rural villages, class struggle is still being waged on the political and ideological front, and at times, it is waged rather violently. This has been so in the rightist attack of 1957; this is also so in the current attack by the rightist opportunists.

(3) There are two kinds of contradictions in China during the transitional period, namely: the contradiction between us and our enemies, and the contradiction among the people internally. In the internal contradictions of the people, there are the contradictions between state, collective, and personal interests; the contradiction between democracy and centralization, between the leadership and those who are led, and between the bureaucratic working style of certain staff members of state organs and the masses.

There exist also the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; the contradiction between

peasants, handicrafts industry, and the working class; and the contradiction between wealthy middle peasants and poor peasants as well as lower middle peasants; etc.

In dealing with contradictions of different natures, we must resort to diversified methods. However, as has been borne out by experience since the rectification movement, such measures as the great contending and blossoming, the great debates, and large-scale newspapers constitute not only the best methods to settle the internal contradictions of the people, but under the present exigencies, they are also the most efficacious weapon with which to wage the class struggle.

We must continue to use this weapon to expose and resolve contradictions. In addition to frontal education, we must also be adept in using teachers from the opposite side to educate our entire party members and the people and mass, in order to ceaselessly enhance class awareness and to push the class struggle to its end.

(4) Our great objective of as members of the communist party is to thoroughly extinguish all exploitative systems, classes, and class differences. However, we are not like the bourgeoisie who try to use one exploitative system to replace the other.

Confronted with the devious and complex class struggle during this transitional period, and facing the desperate two-road struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat and between capitalism and socialism, the rightist opportunists are shouting "the theory of extinction of class struggle," while not a few comrades who have committed rightist deviations are intoxicated with "super-class" views. What does such a state of affairs indicate?

First, it indicates that they are not bona fide members of the communist party, but are bourgeois revolutionists. They were only fellow-travellers during the stage of democratic revolution. After the advent of the period of socialist revolution, their anti-socialist face has been exposed.

Secondly, the rightist opportunists who shout about "the theory of extinction of the class struggle," instead of extinguishing the struggle, have continuously attacked

the party and attacked socialism from their bourgeois stand. This attack is sometimes concealed; at other times, it is overt and frantic.

Thirdly, all "super-class" views in fact reflect the political stand of the bourgeoisie. When this "super-class" view is adopted, the results is bound to support and encourage bourgeoisie influence, curb the prestige of the proletariat, injure or even ruin socialist enterprises.

Fourthly, the principal task of struggle on the political and ideological front is to oppose rightist opportunism and to overcome rightist opportunist ideology. This is at the same time the main guarantee for the consolidation of the party.

In this struggle to surmount rightist opportunist ideology, one of the most important tasks is to develop Marxist-Leninist education on class and theories of class struggle in the entire party and entire people, to thoroughly smash the reactionary "theory of the extinction of class struggle," to help all party members and cadres to observe all problems with the methods of class analysis, and to resolve all problems with the methods of class struggle.

## SOCIALIST PRINCIPLE PLUS COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

[This is a full translation of an article by Ho Ch'eng-chang appearing in Li-lun Hsueh-hsi, No 12, Mukden, 1 December 1959, pages 13-15.]

Pursuant to the spirit of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Eighth Party Congress, the educational movement on socialism and communism is being unfolded in the province of Liaoning.

In this movement many important questions have been debated by the broad cadres and the masses, including the principles for the implementation of socialism and the question whether or not communist ideology should be used as the commander.

On the strength of the great victories in the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communalization, as well as the high tide reached by the anti-rightist movement and the movement to stimulate the spirit of endeavor under the auspices of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee, of the Chinese Communist Party, the vast majority of the people believe firmly that in order to carry out the principle of socialism, it is necessary that communist ideology occupy a position of commandship.

It is only by making communist ideology the commander, by ceaselessly stimulating the revolutionary spirit of endeavor, by forging the imaginative and enterprising communist working style, by strengthening the monolithic concept, and by extending cooperation in order to mobilize all available positive elements that we shall be able to correctly and thoroughly implement the principle of socialism and accelerate socialist reconstruction enterprises.

There is, however, a small segment of the people who consider that, in order to enforce the principle of socialism, it is not necessary to have communist ideology as commander. In their view, if only material encouragement is given, such as the development of "small private ownerships" and "small freedoms," and the paying of due

regard to the interests of small groups, it will be possible to stimulate the people's labor positiveness and to "consummate" socialist reconstruction enterprises. This view is patently erroneous.

That socialist principle must be coupled with communist ideology constitutes the basic principle which guides our work. This is the great fountain of strength with which to realize ceaselessly the great leap forward. Any neglect of the communist ideology as commander will give rise to the activities of rightist opportunists and render it impossible to correctly and thoroughly implement socialist principle, not to say the great leap forward.

Socialist principle forms the basis on which are enacted the various directives and policies during the historic period of socialist reconstruction. During this period, it is necessary to encourage the people's labor positiveness from the material standpoint by duly catering to the interests of "small freedoms" and "small groups."

This is because the level of China's productive capacity is still relatively low, and between industry and agriculture, cities and rural villages, and mental labor and manual labor, differences still exist.

In the minds of the people are retained old capitalist ideas of fondness for enjoyment but loathing for work, and desire for gains without labor. These conditions prescribe that under the conditions of socialism, such material encouragements as distribution according to labor, both in principle and in practice, are necessary. Such a measure is in keeping with the current level of development in China's productive capacity and the degree of awareness of the people.

Consequently, while we concern ourselves with the production and work of the masses, we must in the meantime pay due regard to their material interests. On the basis of developing production, we must correctly and ceaselessly readjust the internal contradictions between industry and agriculture, city and countryside, and mental labor and manual labor. This will enable the gradual raising of the standard of living of the broad masses, as well as the gradual improvement of the wage system and reward system, so that the people will concern themselves with the fruits of their labor from the material standpoint, while they are

enhancing their own awareness, and so that they will ceaselessly raise their labor productivity in order to richly, rapidly, excellently, and economically build up socialism.

On the other hand, there are in China now two kinds of ownership system: the all-people ownership system and the collective ownership system. In people's communes which practice the collective ownership system, the three-grade ownership system is being practiced at the current stage.

In this three-grade ownership, the communal ownership system constitutes our great future as well as our great hope. However, the system of ownership by production teams, which forms the basic portion, is still the basis on which to develop agricultural production at the present moment, and it is endorsed and demanded by the masses. The system of ownership by small teams, which exists in a small segment of the communes, is also essential to the development of positiveness in small teams, to the stepping-up of production, and to the improvement of livelihood.

Consequently, while ownership by production teams is actively developed, at the same time adequate arrangements must also be made for ownership by small teams. In energetically forging the communal ownership system, we must not weaken the system of ownership by production teams. Where it is permitted by the party's policy and direction, due respect and due regard must be paid to the legitimate rights and interests of the production teams and small teams.

Simultaneously, outside of the three-grade ownership system, individual members of communes retain a small area of ownership, consisting primarily of self-retained land and certain home subsidiary industry. Attention should be paid to this portion of "small private ownership" so that the subsidiary labor force in the members' families may be utilized to augment production, improve livelihood, and generally increase their labor positiveness.

That socialist principle must be enforced during the historic stage of socialist reconstruction is an affirmed fact. However, to implement socialist principle, it is imperative to make communist ideology the commander. There is a dual significance in this axiom: (1) to successfully



guide the current socialist reconstruction, and (2) to prepare the conditions for transition to communism in the future.

In making communist ideology the commander, it does not imply that communism will be practiced now. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that socialism and communism form the two stages of one social pattern, and while there are differences, there are also connections. If we do not use communist ideology as commander in our development of socialism, we may be prone to losing our direction, we will lack the firm purpose of struggle, we will be content with the status quo, thus slackening the pace of socialist reconstruction.

Chairman Mao pointed out as early as the stage of democratic revolution: "At present, undoubtedly, we should expand the propaganda of communist ideology and intensify our study of Marxism and Leninism. Without this propaganda and this study, it will not only be impossible to bring the Chinese revolution to the stage of socialism in future, it will also be impossible to guide the current democratic revolution to its successful conclusion."

Since Chairman Mao had stressed the importance of propaganda for communism in the stage of democratic revolution, it stands to reason that the strengthening of education in communist ideology has become even more important now. Consequently, we must make communist ideology the commander in order to intensively unfold socialist and communist education, to enable the broad cadres and the masses to acquire great enthusiasm and broad vision for the development of socialism and communism, to cultivate in them the communist working style of altruism, generosity, and self-sacrifice, and to convince them that it is necessary not only to concern themselves with individual interests, but also with collective interests, not only present interests, but also permanent interests, so that social productivity will be developed speedily.

In point of fact, this and last year's great leap forward in production is due largely to the development of the communist spirit on the part of the masses. The great leap forward has effectively demonstrated to us what stupendous strength can be galvanized when socialist pragmatism is coordinated with communist ideology.

However, if one should unilaterally stress material encouragement divorced from communist ideology, it would only lead people to be engrossed in their present interests and to lose sight of their collective and permanent interests. This would be bound to affect and even to reduce the revolutionary positiveness of the mass, and to nurture the bourgeois individualist ideology. We should not countenance the development of such phenomena during the socialist reconstruction.

Our revolution is a ceaseless revolution, and consequently our ideology must also be a communist ideology that is ceaselessly revolutionary. Although China has basically consummated the socialist revolution concerning the ownership of the means of production, nevertheless, the socialist revolution cannot stop here, but must be pushed to its end.

In the near future and on the basis of a steady rise in the level of productivity, our task is to transform the three-grade ownership of the people's communes into the communal ownership system, and further from the collective ownership to the all-people ownership system, thus creating the conditions for the transition from socialism to communism.

Obviously, without communist ideology, it will be impossible to push socialism to its end, not to say to ascend into communism. Thus, while we are implementing socialist principles, we must actively support and nurture the embryos of communism, to make them develop and grow quickly.

At this stage, it is still necessary to maintain the three-grade ownership system in communes, a system which cannot be changed abruptly. Actually, the transition from three-grade ownership to communal-ownership cannot be accomplished within a short period of time. We must actively prepare the conditions for the transition which, on the basis of all-out and rapid development of communal economy, entails the energetic development of the partial communal ownership system.

The system of ownership by production teams should be developed. However, this should be done on the premise that it is beneficial to the development of the communal

ownership system. We cannot unlimitedly expand the scope of operation of production teams; nor can we develop these teams at the expense of the communal ownership system.

The system of ownership by small teams should be limited to a small segment. Some people demand the enlargement of ownership by small teams; others even suggest that the small teams be made into accounting units, a change which would be absolutely improper.

There are also people who consider the "small freedoms" and small ownership to be insufficient, and ask for more. Others insist on the "re-division of land," and "guarantee of products to the households." The latter, of course, represent the demands of wealthy middle peasants, and it is a capitalist tendency. We must use communist ideology as commander, mobilize the mass to hold great contending and great blossoming debates, and criticize them severely and resolutely.

The reason why we want to use communist ideology for commander is because during the transitional period, class struggle still prevails. Although following the basic consummation of socialist revolution on the economic front, China has scored a decisive victory on the political and ideological fronts of the revolution, yet class struggle has not ceased. During the entire period of transition, this struggle will continue to exist, and it is bound to develop spasmodically and unevenly, until the transition is passed.

This class struggle of the transitional period will be reflected in our party and in the ranks of our revolution. The anti-socialist activities of the small segment of rightist opportunists constitute, in effect, this reflection. Because they stand for the aspirations and demands of the bourgeoisie, they deny the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communalization, hoping to pull socialism backward, and to restore capitalism in China.

Consequently, it is only by using the communist ideology as commander that we shall be able to enhance the political awareness of the cadres and the mass, smash any form of attack stemming from the bourgeoisie, raise the glorious banner of the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes to march ahead triumphantly.

Without the communist ideology as commander, the mass will be disarmed ideologically and politically; they will lose their revolutionary vigilance; they will lose their ability to distinguish right from wrong, to discern the situation of the class struggle. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie will take advantage of our weakness to seize our territory, lead people into confusion, and injure our great enterprises.

In point of fact, there were people who, when they found it difficult to withstand the tide of the rightist opportunists last summer, followed these same rightist opportunists in clamoring that "the people's commune is premature; it has been ruined," "it is a losing business to make iron and steel," etc. All of this was due to the fact that communist ideology was not made the commander.

Through the publicizing and implementation of the spirit of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Eighth Party Congress, communist ideology has been further elucidated among the broad cadres, thus sweeping away the depressive atmosphere created by rightist opportunists. The erroneous tendencies of a segment of the people have been rectified, so that they and the broad mass have joined forces in the glowing movement for production increase and austerity. Thus, there is a great significance in stressing the arming of the cadres and masses with communist ideology in order to purge them of their bourgeois ideology and old concepts, habits, and customs.

The above analysis shows that during the present stage of socialist reconstruction, it is necessary to correctly implement socialist principle. Moreover, it is necessary to constantly ceaselessly educate the broad cadres and the masses in communist ideology.

Unless the restraints of bourgeois ideology and other conservative ideas are shattered, until the communist working style of altruism, ceaseless revolution, ceaseless progress, imagination and courage is developed, it will not be possible to push socialist revolution to its end, to implement socialist principle, and to smoothly pursue socialist reconstruction.

Consequently, socialist principle, coupled with communist ideology, is the basic guarantee for victory in various enterprises. Let us arm ourselves with the scientific communist ideology. Let the resplendent communist ideology shine on the permanently during our march along the broad road of socialism and communism.

## CLASS STRUGGLE IS NOT OUTMODED

[The following is a complete translation of an article by Shih Liang-jen appearing in Chieh-fang, No 24, 20 December 1959, pages 6-10.]

As early as 1926, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote an article entitled "An Analysis of Various Classes in Chinese Society." At the outset of this article, he says:

"Who is our enemy? Who is our friend? This question is one of foremost importance in a revolution. In the past, China's revolutionary struggle has been very ineffectual. The basic cause lies in the failure to rally the true friend to attack the real enemy."

"As the revolutionary party is the compass of the masses, there is no revolution that does not fail when the revolutionary party leads it the wrong way. If we want our revolution to take its correct course and to succeed, we must endeavor to rally our true friends in order to attack our real enemies. If we wish to distinguish our friends from our enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic position and revolutionary attitude of each and every social class in China." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol 1, page 3)

This brief passage thoroughly elucidates the importance of class analysis.

"This question is one of foremost importance in a revolution." This quotation indicates that the question of whether or not we need class analysis is the same as whether or not we want the revolution to succeed. In other words, it is the question of whether we need a revolution.

The reason for undertaking class analysis is to "distinguish between enemy and friend," and "to rally our true friend to attack our real enemy." Consequently, our true friends will not be afraid of our class analysis, but our real enemies will be terrified by our resorting to this weapon of class analysis.

Has this weapon of class analysis become outmoded? Not at all! The rightist opportunists have, from within the party, unleashed anti-party, anti-people and anti-socialist activities by wantonly attacking the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes. They have also attacked the commandship of politics, and the mass movements, and have opposed the strengthening of the party's leadership. Is this not a serious class struggle?

As a weapon of attack, while wearing the cloak of Marxism, they try to distort Marxism. Confusing our class awareness, they direct their assault on the party and the proletariat. Is it not true that some of our comrades, having abandoned the weapon of class analysis, can no longer distinguish between good and bad orders or between truth and falsehood, and wavering and shaking, have almost been deceived by them?

In addition, almost without exception, the rightists opportunists exposed by the party have spared no effort in using some "derelict weapons" to attack the general line, the great leap forward, the people's communes, and the leadership of the party.

Under the pretext of [objective] investigation, they claim to employ "scientific criteria" and therefore, they "seek the truth from the actual facts," which is realism or pragmatism (shih-shih ch'iu-shih). But with what actual facts" do they begin, how do they "seek," and what kind of "truth" will they "seek" out?

Their so-called "actual facts" are: "We cannot buy hair pins."; the allegations of a few wealthy peasants that "the communes are not as free as the higher cooperatives, and higher cooperatives are not as free as lower cooperatives, and lower cooperatives are not as free as mutual aid teams;" and the feeling on the part of a few intellectuals of "lack of freedom" and "tension" in socialism.

They have canvassed these "precious things" from among the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals, and the wealthy middle peasants of rural villages. Nevertheless, they have conspicuously failed to canvass the views of workers and poor and lower middle peasants.



From the standpoint of bourgeois democracy, they "seek" by means of idealism and empiricism. The "truth" they "seek" out is that "the order has been ruined by the mass movement"; "the communes are premature and have failed"; and "political commandership and the strengthening of the party's leadership has resulted in restraining the positiveness of the people."

Their conclusion is that "the general line should be withdrawn"; "the great leap forward is undesirable"; "the communes should be replaced by higher cooperatives, higher cooperatives by lower cooperatives, and lower cooperatives by mutual aid teams"; and the "guarantee of production to individual households" should be given.

Pragmatism (shih-shih ch'iu-shih) consistently has been the scientific attitude of Marxism-Leninism, and comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us to use this pragmatic attitude vis a vis all things. Our pragmatism stems from the stand of the working class; it stems from the objective realities of the current class struggle and production struggle.

We use the viewpoints of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to "seek" the "truth" which will guide China's revolution. By using the mirror of class analysis, it will be seen that the "shih-shih ch'iu-shih" which we advocate and the allegations of the rightist opportunists are antipodal.

As we may still recall, one of the magic wands used by the rightist bourgeoisie in 1957 to launch their frantic attack on the party was social investigation. They say that they have obtained the materials with which they attacked the party from their own investigations. They call themselves "socialogists." However, through the all-revealing mirror of class analysis, it transpired that their so-called materials come mostly from counter-revolutionaries, landlords, rich peasants, and their relatives and friends who have grievances against socialism. Some of these materials, of course, have been furnished by comrades who have lost their [socialist] stand.

All of these materials have been embellished upon. Whatever they need, they will exalt and exaggerate, and call it the mass view. Whatever they do not need, they

will ignore, and insinuate that it is a communist inspired euphemism. In other words, they bend their efforts to canvass materials which are useful to their activities, because of their determination to oppose the party, the people, and socialism. How similar are the weapons used by rightist opportunists and those used by bourgeois rightists before!

The rightist opportunists have exalted the wealthy middle peasants to the sky. These "peasants," they say, have succeeded through labor. They are frugal and they have production experience. Thus, it behooves us to rely on them if we wish to realize our agricultural production [goals].

Why do the rightist opportunists fail to mention the landlords and rich peasants? It is because landlords and rich peasants, known to all as exploiters, are too odious. On the other hand, the wealthy middle peasants have the status of laborers, and they also have some production experience. It is just because the wealthy middle peasants have this "capital" that a few of them who are dissatisfied with socialism dare to attack the party. Since the landlords and rich peasants, who have already been overthrown, are no longer in a position to come out in the open, they naturally welcome the airing of their views by the wealthy middle peasants and the fact that their "rights" are being fought for them.

We recognize that the wealthy middle peasants are laborers. We are further convinced that the majority of them can follow our party and can support socialism. In "Concerning the Question of Agricultural Cooperativization," Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The wealthy or relatively wealthy middle peasants form only 20 or 30 percent of China's rural population. They are wavering. Some of them want to take the road of capitalism."

If we do not have this class analysis, we will be greatly deceived by the rightist opportunists. The wealthy middle peasants, after all, form the upper section of the middle and petty bourgeoisie in rural villages, and are the representatives of the self-growing force of rural capitalism.

Let us see how Comrade Mao Tse-tung analyzes this segment of the upper petty bourgeoisie. He says: "Such people are very eager to get rich and worship Marshal Chao [god of wealth] most devoutly. Though without illusions about amassing a great fortune, they constantly aspire to climb to the position of the middle class. At the sight of small capitalists who command people's respect, their mouths water copiously." ("Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," volume 1, page 5)

"Eager to get rich and worship Marshal Chao most devoutly" this is to say that in addition to their status as laborers, they possess also the status of representatives of the self-growing force of capitalism in rural villages. This shows they still have an anti-socialist facet.

While we do not wish to deny the fact that they have certain production experience, yet this experience is linked with their world outlook which is one of being "eager to get rich and worship Marshal Chao most devoutly."

In the eyes of the poor and lower middle peasants, all the methods of the wealthy middle peasants are rich men's methods. First, the wealthy middle peasants take advantage of their abundant capital and their abundant tools: they can buy bean cakes when they wish to fertilize their land; they can get better feed when they wish to raise pigs. They are not like the poor peasants and lower middle peasants who must depend on their own labor and efforts in their struggle against nature. Second, their methods are aimed at making themselves rich: while they want "their own field to grow money, they hope other people's field will grow only grass." In other words, they want to resort to exploitative methods to enrich themselves.

While the rightist opportunists are avid in stressing the internal contradictions among the people, they absolutely refrain from mentioning the class struggle among the people. Their purpose is to confuse class boundaries. It is also for the same purpose that while they emphasize [the status of] the wealthy middle peasants as laborers, they refuse to mention that aspect of these peasants as representatives of the self-growing force of capitalism in rural villages.

Moreover, do not the rightist opportunists also like to propagate such abstract terms as democracy, freedom, equality, and fraternity? Certainly, these terms are "attractive." Have not some of our comrades befuddledly appreciated these "attractive" terms?

In this connection, we must exercise extreme caution. For whom do they demand democracy, freedom, equality, and fraternity? From whom do they demand these things? On behalf of the self-growing force of capitalism, they demand democracy, freedom, equality, and fraternity from the proletariat and from socialism for the purpose of preserving and developing capitalism.

Under the socialist system in China, we practice proletarian dictatorship. Our task is to thoroughly extinguish capitalism as well as the roots of capitalism. We do not want bourgeois democracy. Nor do we grant freedom to anyone who will use it to develop capitalism. We do not practice democracy for our anti-socialist enemies; nor do we talk about fraternity to them.

Moreover, what we have is socialist democracy; we allow each person the greatest freedom to build socialism and to develop fully his wisdom and talents. We are fraught with the reality of the proletariat and fraternal spirit of communism.

Now, oblivious of this fact, the rightist opportunists are asking us for democracy, freedom, equality, and fraternity. Is it not true then that what they want is bourgeois democracy, freedom, equality, and fraternity? That they want to enforce bourgeois dictatorship and restore capitalism?

If we should accede to their "views," there will be no democracy and no freedom left to the proletariat and the broad masses of laboring people. What will be left to us will be limited to the right of the bourgeois to wantonly exploit the fruits of labor and the freedom to suffer poverty and hardships.

Then, will they dispense genuine equality and fraternity to the proletariat and other laboring people? Never. Because if they do, they will then deprive themselves of

the "freedom" to exploit, to oppress, and to enrich themselves. And if the broad mass of people should be "free," they will feel that they are not too "equal" or too "fraternal."

The rightist opportunists are bound to have other views which cannot be elucidated here. In short, while these views seem to be reasonable and plausible when we listen to them without class analysis, when the all-revealing mirror of class analysis is used, it will be shown that they are in reality bourgeois revolutionists wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

They belong to the same class as Berenstein, Bukharin, and other modern revisionists. Because Berenstein, Bukharin, and the modern revisionists talked about the so-called peace in socialism and championed the theory of the extinction of class struggle, they considered themselves to be socialists.

When the rightist opportunists ask us to abolish the weapon of class analysis, it is tantamount to their acting as representatives of the bourgeoisie and the self-growing force of rural capitalism in a class struggle against us. When they advocate the theory of the extinction of class struggle, in fact, they have never forgotten for a single moment their struggle with the proletariat for leadership.

Of course, it is only because we have among our comrades those who retain befuddled views that these tactics of the rightist opportunists are still able to influence a segment of our comrades. Some of these comrades are prone to think that just because the socialist transformation of agriculture has been completed in China close upon the heel of socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and the socialist transformation of handicraft industry, the system of public ownership in socialism has been basically adopted. Through the all people's rectification movements and the anti-rightists struggle, we have scored a decisive victory on the political and ideological fronts. We have further set the tasks for the technological and cultural revolutions. Thus, it might seem logical to consider the class struggle "concluded" and the method of class analysis "outmoded."

They do not comprehend that while the elimination of private ownership of the means of production forms a giant step toward the great goal of eliminating classes, it is by no means the last step. Simultaneous with the formation of classes, the various classes formed their respective class relationships based on their own economic positions, thereby creating politics.

Also, from the standpoint of their own economic positions and social pragmatism, their individual world outlooks have been formed. Consequently, the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie has never been restricted to economic struggle, but it includes both political struggle and ideological struggle.

As long as political and ideological influences and the forces of the traditions of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie continue to prevail, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the political and ideological front will continue to persist.

Moreover, it will be impossible to prevent foreign influences in China, so long as we cannot build socialism with our doors closed, so long as internal situations cannot be isolated from international developments, so long as imperialism still exists internationally, and so long as there is still a struggle between the socialist camp and the camp of imperialism.

Consequently, whenever there are temporary or partial difficulties domestically in the work of socialist construction, or whenever there happen to be disturbances in the international situation, the anti-socialist elements in the bourgeoisie will make a new attempt to launch their attack on the proletariat. The struggle between these two classes will rise and ebb like waves, and sometimes it will flare up violently.

They do not comprehend that when we propose tasks for the technological and cultural revolutions, it shows not only that China's socialist reconstruction has been developed to a new stage of phenomenal progress, but also that China's socialist revolution has been further intensified. The class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie is bound to cut through the entire process of this technological revolution and cultural revolution.



The culture of the bourgeoisie is capitalistic culture, though what the proletariat desires is socialist and communist culture. The technology of the bourgeoisie aims at squeezing more profit and at gaining monopolistic control, without regard to the needs of society, while the technology of the proletariat is one which can reduce the physical exertions of the laborers, curtail the time needed for labor, and satisfy the demands of society.

The proletariat wants to make its class the political commander, and desires to strengthen ideological work, mobilize the socialist positivity of the broad people, and correctly settle the internal contradictions of the people. They energetically launch mass movements, advocate coordination between mental labor and manual labor, and between theory and practice, and adopt many undertakings simultaneously in order to perform tasks quickly, efficiently, and economically. Those who cherish the bourgeois world outlook, however, try their best to make the bourgeoisie the political commander, follow the specialist line instead of the mass line, expand the distance between mental labor and manual labor, divorce theory from practice, prefer foreign methods to native methods, and rich men's methods to poor men's methods, and do things slowly, slovenly, and extravagantly.

It is the desire of the proletariat to exercise leadership over the technological revolution and cultural revolution through their own party--the Communist Party. By the ceaseless strengthening of proletarian dictatorship and by the ceaseless expansion and consolidation of the all-people's ownership system and collective ownership system of socialism, they hope to insure the correct and successful development of the technological and cultural revolution.

However, according to bourgeois thinking, these revolutions should be led by intellectuals of the bourgeoisie. This shows that in the process of technological revolution and cultural revolution, class struggle is still unavoidable, and consequently, the weapon of class analysis has not been outmoded.

Inasmuch as befuddled views are still cherished by some of our comrades, they easily give credence to all sorts of opinions. They would take these opinions to the



party, to their superiors, under the illusion that they are taking the mass line, reflecting mass opinion, and representing mass interests. In point of fact, they have distorted the party's mass line.

On the one hand, they alienate the party's mass line from its class line, thereby abandoning the party's class line. On the other, they fail to treat the masses from the standpoint of class analysis. Thus, the masses become something abstract and generalized to them. They forget that the masses are not merely an agglomeration of people, but in the masses are demarcated various social groups (classes and class segments), as well as the differences between advanced, middle, and backward elements. They have thus been deceived unwittingly by people who perpetrate anti-mass deeds in the name of the masses.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in his "Concerning the Question of Correctly Settling the Internal Contradictions of the People" written in 1957, points out clearly: "In China, although socialist transformation, from the standpoint of ownership system, has been basically completed, and the large scale turbulent mass class struggle during the revolutionary stage has been basically concluded, nevertheless, the remnants of the overthrown landlords and compradores still remain, the bourgeoisie class continues to exist, and the petty bourgeoisie are being transformed.

The class struggle has not yet been concluded. The class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the political strengths of various parties, and the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie in their concepts and patterns, are still protracted, devious, and sometimes even violent."

In point of fact, class distinction has not yet vanished in China. The capitalists are still getting fixed interest [from their enterprises]; in rural villages the self-growing force of capitalism represented by wealthy middle peasants still exists in rural villages; the bourgeois intellectuals have not fundamentally changed their stands and world outlook. Because of this situation, they are in conflict with the proletariat and with socialist enterprises, and some of them are reluctant to the extent of opposing the proletariat and socialist enterprises. This condition is bound to be reflected in the party. How,

then, can we say that class struggle has been extinguished? Why should we not firmly hold on to the Marxist-Leninist weapon of class analysis?

Since the weapon of class analysis is so important, and since it is not outmoded, it behooves us to grasp and use this weapon to expose the numerous internal and external enemies who have camouflaged themselves with diverse disguises, and the chicaneries and intrigues of revisionists under the garb of Marxism-Leninism, as well as the rightist opportunists.

Marxism-Leninism and the party's line, direction, and policy constitute the concentrated manifestation of the interests of the working class and the broad peasant masses. The entire writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung are replete with clear concepts of class analysis, which show us concrete and profound examples of class analysis.

Consequently, the most fundamental way for us to grasp the methods of class analysis and to employ them freely is to seriously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's ideology, as well as the party line, direction, and policy.

However, if we attack problems from an individualistic standpoint, if our stands are wrong, and if our ideology is unwholesome, it will be impossible for us to comprehend things objectively and settle problems correctly.

Naturally, it will also be impossible for us to correctly understand Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's ideology, to correctly comprehend the party line, direction, and policy, and to correctly grasp and use the weapon of class analysis. Thus, the crux of the problem lies in the thorough remolding of one's own ideology.